MEMORIES OF MADRAS

Photo by W. and D. Downey. Swan Electric Engraving Co.

Her Majesty Queen Alexandra,

Wearing the Koh-i-noor in her Coronation Crown.

9th August. 1902.

MEMORIES OF MADRAS

BY

SIR CHARLES LAWSON

Late Fellow of the University of Madras;
Author of "The Private Life of Warren Hastings," etc.

With 4 Photogravure Portraits and 29 other Illustrations.

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PREFACE

ACCORDING to Saint Beuve—as quoted by *The Times*, on the 14th ultimo—" there is little that is new in this world, except what has grown old, and very often we discover what has already been known and forgotten." The reflection applies to this book, which contains glimpses of men and things of former days in Madras, that were obtained by delving in the archives of the British Museum and the India Office. The papers appeared originally in the *Madras Mail*, and have now been recast and enlarged. They are illustrated by examples of the methods of photo-engraving invented by Sir Joseph Swan, F.R.S.

C. L.

LONDON, *May*, 1905.

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INDIA.
Native States shown thus
English Miles.
0 100 200 300
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
Srinagar
Chitral
Peshawar
PUNJAB
Lahore
Amritsar
Sobraon
Simla
Delhi
Meerut
Hardwar
TIBET
Lhasa
NEPAL
Khatmandu
SIKKIM
ASSAM
Brahmaputra
SULAIMAN
RAJPUTANA
Bikaner
Jaisalmer
Jodhpur
Ajmere
Agra
Lucknow
Cawnpur
Gwalior
Allahabad
Benares
Patna
BENGAL
Murshidabad
Plassey
Chandarnagar
CALCUTTA
SIND
Haidarabad
GUJARAT
Ahmadabad
Baroda
Indore
Jabalpur
CENTRAL PROVINCES
Nagpur
BERAR
ORISSA
Cuttack
Puri
(Jagannath)
Surat
Bombay
Poona
BOMBAY
HAIDARABAD
Haidarabad
Aurangabad
Masulipatam
Goa
Bellary
MYSORE
Bangalore
Mysore
Madras
Pondicherry
(French)
Salem
MADRAS
LACCADIVE Is.
MALDIVE Is.
CEYLON
Colombo
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIAN OCEAN

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDERS OF FORT ST. GEORGE

So much has been published regarding the genesis of Fort St. George, Madras, that it may be thought that there is no occasion for further light to be thrown upon the subject; yet Mr. William Foster has gleaned among the records at the India Office some information[1] regarding the founding of the Fort, and its early history, that is particularly instructive. The records preserved in the Fort have from time to time been subjected to painstaking examination by Captain A. W. Rawlins, Mr. W. Hudleston, M.C.S., Mr. Talboys Wheeler, U.C.S., Mr. A. P. Pringle, U.C.S., Mrs. Frank Penny, and Mr. D. Leighton, not to speak of less conspicuous labourers in the same field; but, as Mr. Foster says, the researches of these authors were unavoidably restricted to the records available in Madras, which commence only in 1670. Consequently, recourse was had to works of questionable reliability, compiled and published in England, for particulars about the history of the settlement during the immediately preceding thirty years. It has been Mr. Foster's aim to supply materials in his present monograph for such a first chapter of the history of Madras as seems to him to be needed. There are aching voids in the records at Whitehall, as there are also in those that white ants have spared in the Fort. "Many important letters have perished entirely; of others, only portions survive, often in very unlikely quarters; while several events of the first importance are merely referred to obliquely in the contemporary correspondence." But such papers as are available at the India

[1] *The Founding of Fort St. George, Madras.* By William Foster, B.A. (of the Registry and Record Department, India Office). Published by Order of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India in Council. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902.

Office, "fairly reflect," in Mr. Foster's opinion, "all the information of importance which it is now possible to glean from the records of the East India Company."

It is an old story that on the East Coast of India, as well as elsewhere, the Dutch, in the early part of the seventeenth century, showed an enterprise in starting, and a skill in pushing trade that put their British rivals to the blush. The Dutch had founded a settlement at Pulicat, which obtained a large measure of prosperity while the English settlement at Masulipatam was struggling for existence; and it was perceived by the factors at Masulipatam that their best course would be to follow the lead of the Dutch, and found a new settlement south of Masulipatam. Accordingly a mere patch of ground was acquired at Armagon—now called Durgarayapatnam—only thirty-five miles north of Pulicat, and the most was made of it. The prospects which it presented were not brilliant; but, as they were less gloomy than those offered at Masulipatam, what passed for the headquarters of the Company's service on the Coromandel Coast were transferred for a time to the new station. It was, however, soon realized that the anchorage at Armagon was poor; that the port was exposed; and that the settlers were underbid, and undersold by their Dutch neighbours.

It was then thought desirable to go farther afield; and Mr. Francis Day embarked at Armagon, and proceeded farther down the Coast to search for what was wanted. At first—if what the Dutch factors at Pulicat reported to their official superiors at Batavia can be trusted—Day went to Pollecheree—now known as Pondicherry—and treated with the local Hindu authorities for ground whereon to build a settlement, failing which he negotiated for a site at Conimeer—now known as Kunimedu—thirteen miles north of Pollecheree. Nothing, however, came of this. He then wended his way a little farther north; and, by means which have yet to be ascertained, he not only made a friend of the Naik, Damarla Venkatadra—the "Lord General of Carnatica," and "Grand Vizier to the King of Vizianagar"—at Wandawas

(now known as Wandiwash, the scene of Coote's great victory over Lally), but he also established such friendly relations with the Naik's brother, Ayjapaneyik Naik, who resided at Punamallu—now known as Poonamallee—that the latter, as the vicegerent of Damarla, was induced to grant him a firman, authorizing the erection by the English of a fort at "our port of Madraspatam." Mr. Wilson thinks it is obvious from the wording that the document was drafted by Day himself. The firman, dated July 22, 1639, commenced as follows :—

> Whereas Mr. Francis Day, Captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promises offten made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Madraspatam and had personall Conference with us in behalfe of the Company of that Nation, Concerning their trading in our territories and freindly Commerce with our subjects : wee, out of our spetiall Love and Favour to the English, doe grant unto the said Captain, or whomsoever shall bee deputed to Idgitate the affaires of that Company, by vertue of this firman, Power to direct and order the building of a Fort and Castle in or about Madraspatam, as they shall thinke most Convenient, the Charges whereof, untill fully and wholly finished, to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee repaied when the said English shall first make their enterance to take possession thereof. And, to make more full Expression of our affection to the English nation, wee doe Confirme unto the said Mr. Francis Day, or whatsoever other Substitutes or Agents for that Company, full power and authority to governe and dispose of the Government of Madraspatam for the terme and space of two yeares Next Insueing affter they shall be seated there and possesst of the said fortifications ; and for the future by an equall Division to receive halfe the Custom and revenewes of that port.

The firman then proceeded to state that the English Company would be allowed to conduct an import and export trade free of customs duty ; that if goods were transported "up, into, or through my country" the Company shall pay half the duties charged to other merchants ; that the Company shall perpetually enjoy the privilege of mintage, free of "dewes or dutyes" ; and that the Naik would be responsible for payments made by the Company to "merchants, painters," —painters of chintz—"weavers, etc." There were a few other conditions that were also in favour of the Company.

Day personally conveyed this important document to Masulipatam to enable the authorities there to obtain from him, at first hand, and without delay, such particulars as they might require in regard to it. He then found that Thomas Ivy, the chief factor, or Agent, had been superseded by Andrew Cogan, who had just arrived across country from Surat. Cogan was a man of good extraction, for the Herald's *Visitation of London*, 1633–35 (published in 1880 by the Harleian Society), shows that he was a great-grandson of a Mayor of Bristol; that a grand-uncle of his married a daughter of a Mayor of Oxford; that his grandfather was Thomas Cogan "of Dorsetshire": and that he was entitled to bear arms as an esquire. It is conjectured that he entered the service of the East India Company in 1615, during the reign of King James. He was employed some fifteen years in Bantam, Macassar, etc.; and trading on his own account, as the Company's servants were prompted by their beggarly salaries to do, he accumulated what passed for a good fortune. He then returned home.

Nothing irritated the Directors of the Company more than the success of their servants in making money for themselves; and, by way of deterring others from following Cogan's example, the Company filed a bill in Chancery against him. But the Company, though hard pushed for dividends, did not wish to invite a public scrutiny of their affairs. Moreover, while the case was pending, Cogan married the daughter of Sir Hugh Hammersley, one of the Directors, an ex-Lord Mayor of London, the President of Christ's Hospital, the Governor of the Russia and Levant Companies, and, *inter alia*, the father of fifteen children. So a compromise was arranged, and the case never went into Court. In the spring of 1638, or about eight years after this compromise with his late "Honourable Masters," Cogan sailed as a grass-widower for the East, this time bound, as a Member of Council, for Surat. He reached that port in September following. Ere long he was deputed to proceed to Masulipatam; but was instructed to take, *en route*, Goa, where he had some business to transact with the Portuguese Governor-General,

and Golconda, where he sought and obtained a fresh firman from the King for the trade of the English at Masulipatam.

Cogan gave a friendly reception to Day; and, on the 5th September, 1639, "Thomas Ivie, Andrew Cogan, Francis Daye, Thomas Morris, and Thomas Wintter," recorded their proceedings at a consultation held at "Messulipatam," for the guidance of the Directors of the Company. They apprehended that the Directors would take objection to the expenditure which would be required at Madraspatam; and they resolved, therefore, to send Day back to that locality, in order to keep the Naik in play, by presents and promises, until the authorisation for such expenditure arrived from Home. (The Coast factories were removed about this time from the jurisdiction of Bantam to that of Surat.) Thereupon Day left for Armagon. He was joined there later on by Cogan; and the two, having first dismantled the factory at Armagon, which was to be abandoned, proceeded together in the *Eagle* to Madraspatam. The vessel remained three weeks in the open roadstead, and then, being caught in a storm at the end of February, 1640, she was driven ashore at Alamparai.

The erection of the Fort was at once commenced, and Mr. Foster thinks "from the name given to it, that part (perhaps the inner fort) was finished by St. George's Day, April 23. Unfortunately we have little information regarding the factors' proceedings at this time." But it is hardly likely that great progress in the work could have been made in so short a period as two months by unskilled native labour. It is more probable that the foundation stone was laid on the day sacred to the Patron Saint of England. The Naik had been committed by his brother to many pledges; but, in October of the year under notice, Cogan and Day were compelled to inform the authorities at Masulipatam, that he "hath confest before us that hee never had an Intent, or did ever promise to build other then with Tody Trees and earth; laying the fault on the Lingua (interpreter) for misunderstandinge of him at the time of treatie." And, to make matters worse,

the funds were not forthcoming from Masulipatam, Surat, or London for the prosecution of the work. But Day was not to be baulked of the achievement of the object on which he had set his heart; and he proposed to pay out of his own pocket the interest on any sum that might be required, and that could be borrowed for the purpose. On second thoughts, however, he withdrew this offer, and the Masulipatam people plied those at Surat with entreaties for funds "to Imploy our Inhabytants att Madraspatam, without which we feare theil leave us to the shame and dishonour of our Nation . . . for what is it but to loose all yf, beinge posest of a pile of stone, which will cost noe small matter the keepinge, and noe people to Come neere it, thereby to raise some Utilitie to defray the Charge."

As the authorities at Surat became increasingly uneasy about the expenditure, Day was deputed, towards the close of 1640, to proceed to Surat to offer explanations and assurances, and the authorities then determined to send him home. He arrived in London in July, 1641, being introduced to the Court of Directors by the Surat people, as "the first Projectour of the Forte of St. George." The Directors could not have been very impracticable at the time, for they sent him back to India in the *Hopewell*, which reached Madras[1] in July, 1642. During his absence of upwards of twenty months the work at the Fort was supervised by Cogan without assistance; and such was his energy that a bulwark on the St. Thomé side, built of ironstone, and faced with chunam, was so far completed, early in 1641, as to allow of eight iron guns being mounted upon it. Six months later a second bulwark was finished. This was done without any support from the Court of Directors, who disapproved of the whole project. The Court's letter of disapproval is not extant, but Mr. Foster has found the reply of the Surat Council which it evoked. The Council repudiated responsibility for the action of the East Coast factors; but said that "by what wee have heard of it, the Fort is conveniently enough scited, and may serve

[1] *See* Appendix I.:—"The Name of Madras."

you to many good purposes; and therefore since you have been pleased to referr its maintenance or dissolution to our doome, we have seriously considered of it, and resolved to let it stand till our next yeares Battery."

The attitude of the Directors was naturally discouraging to Cogan and Day; and, in a letter to Bantam they said: "Wee are very sencible how ridiculous we have made ourselves by dooing what is done, and lye at our Masters' mercies." The censure passed upon them by the Court "even breaks some of our hearts." Yet they were as convinced as ever that, if it had a fair chance, "this place may prove as good as the best," though they did not forget that "all things must have its growth and time." Cogan especially resented the blame passed upon him individually by the Court. He had all along, he represented, acted with the concurrence of his colleagues, who knew more of Coast affairs than he did; and he denied that he had sanctioned any irregularity. As, however, he did not appear to possess the confidence of the Court, he begged the President of Bantam to appoint another Agent. He added that he would make over charge to Day, and proceed to Bantam as soon as possible. His colleagues begged him to think better of it; and the Bantam Council refused to supersede him pending the receipt of instructions from England. But at length, in August, 1643, he sailed for Bantam; arrived there in November; persuaded the President to sanction his going home; and, embarking in December, he arrived in England in the following June. The Bantam Council sent by the same vessel a letter to the Directors, in which they said:—

And heere wee supposse it's not amiss to lett your Worships understand that Mr. Francis Day was the first Projecture and Contriver of that Forte or Castle in Madrasspatan, which another with a greite deale of discontent, laboure, and paines hath now brought to some good pass, being a place of securitie on that Coast as the onelie place of secured saiftie with that Title of Honoure (Castle) that ever our nation enjoyed in East India, and therefore in our opinions to bee highlie esteemed. And for its cost it's certaine that if your Worships continew the Indian Trade, in few yeares it will not onelie quitt its owne

Charge, but allsoe produce benefitt and put monies into your Purses by bringeing a Trade thether, raiseing a Custome there, paying of duties by the Inhabitants neere adjoyning, and being replenisht with Merchants Weavers &c., whereby you may have all things necessarie and convenient for you under your owne Command; and happy and gladd will manie bee (wherein you will find the benefitt) to come and live under our nation and bee protected by them.

The Bantam Council represented that the expenditure on the Fort had not been excessive considering its strength, and they expressed the belief that the cost would be easily recouped in three years. They incidentally stated that close to the Fort "is an Iland scituated in the River under the Command of the Castle, whereon is likelie to bee made a greate quantitie of Salt yearelie, which is one of the Constantest Commodeties in all theise Easterne Parts, and much monies are gotten thereby everiewhere." It may be mentioned here that three and a half years after the work was commenced, the Madras authorities reported to the Court of Directors that the Fort "hath allready cost in building £2,294 17*s*. 2½*d*., and to finish the rest, and to compleate it according to the worke begune, with ware house Roome, lodging for factors and souldiers, with other needfull additions of Buildings, and soe fortified as fame reporteth it is (though not soe) it cannot cost less than £2,000 more." The monthly charge entailed by the garrison of fifty men was £54 6*s*. 6*d*., and, on the completion of the Fort, the garrison would have to be increased to a hundred men, when the charge would be doubled. Then, they said, "wee need not feare any inland Enemy neare unto us in these parts."

Cogan lost no time in waiting upon his "honourable Masters" in Leadenhall Street, and courted full inquiry into his conduct; but it was not until eleven months after his arrival that he was placed in possession of the following Resolution of the Court in which he was exonerated from blame:—

A very indiscreete action to goe about the building of such a Fort when the Companies stocke was soe small, yett if ever the Companie have a plentifull stocke it may bee very comodious and advantagious

for them ; and since it was the joynt act of all the factors there, and not soly or perticulerly of Mr. Cogans, and if it should not proove soe advantagious for the Companie heereafter, it can bee charged upon noe man more justly then on Mr. Day ; and this Committee were joyntly of opinion to cleare Mr. Cogan of this Charge.

Like many another good servant of his King and country, Day, after returning home from Madras "for good and all," was heard of no more ; and it has hitherto been supposed that similar oblivion overtook Cogan. But in his researches Mr. Foster has come across some papers—the contents of which he has now obligingly communicated to me—which show what became of him.

Cogan ought, one might suppose, to have had enough of the Company ; yet, a few months after his acquittal he not only again made an offer of his services to the Directors, but expressed his willingness to contribute £3,000 for investment in the cargo of a ship. But this and other overtures on his part were declined with thanks. He was now the possessor of a considerable fortune ; and, as it was not in his power to return to the East to add to it, he resolved to settle down at home, as a country gentleman imbued with the taste for town. With this object in view he acquired a property at Greenwich, then a truly rural locality, within convenient reach by boat, or horse, of the metropolis. There were three houses on the estate, and he set apart one for his own use, and bestowed the other two on his daughters, Mary and Martha. The times were out of joint, for the country was in the throes of civil war, and it became incumbent upon every Englishman to make choice between King and Parliament. Soon after Cogan had taken up his residence at Greenwich he was assessed at £400 by a Parliamentary Committee for the "Advance of Money," and his "East Indian goods" were placed under sequestration until the forced loan was paid. He was careful to remain quietly at home during the four troublous years that ensued. At last, in 1648, the County of Kent rose against its Parliamentary oppressors, and eleven thousand stalwart men "stood for the King" under the com-

mand of the Earl of Norwich, and resolved to march upon London. Among them was Cogan, who had already spent much of his fortune in the service of the King, and who had still something to lose in the Royal cause. But the discipline of the force was in inverse proportion to the courage of its component parts, and the better discipline of the enemy under Fairfax proved irresistible. Some five hundred of the Kentish men, including Cogan, succeeded in crossing the Thames with Lord Norwich, and threatened the eastern end of the metropolis. The small force was easily scattered; and while many of those associated with it made their way to Colchester, there to be beleaguered by the ruthless Fairfax, the remainder fled, some to the home counties, others to the Continent. Cogan was among the latter. Thus it was that, in June, 1650, he was impeached as being among "malignants," who were "beyond seas with the enemies of Parliament," and his estate at Greenwich was confiscated.

In the following month a seven years' lease of the estate was granted by Cromwell to a Member of Parliament, named Gregory Clement, a man remarkable for the possession of a loud voice, who had sat in Westminster Hall as one of the Judges at the trial of the King. Mr. Foster concludes that this is the Gregory Clement who is known to have been in the Company's service from 1624 to 1631, and to have been employed chiefly at Surat, Ahmedabad, and Agra, though the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that nothing is known of him prior to 1642. If Mr. Foster's assumption is correct, then Clement may have known Cogan in India; and he may, like Cogan, have laid the foundation of a large fortune in that country in the fashion that was so irritating to the susceptibilities of the magnates of Leadenhall Street. At any rate, ere Clement's lease of the estate at Greenwich had quite expired he bought the property outright from the "Treason Trustees," intending, doubtless, to live happily thereon ever after. But his Puritanism failed to keep his passions under proper control; and, being found out in a disgraceful

intrigue, he was expelled from St. Stephen's by the scandalized Parliament. Meanwhile, Cogan remained in Holland, beggared by his loyalty. He estimated his losses in the Royal cause at £34,000; while his elder daughter, writing later, set them down at £40,000. Of silver and gold the "Merrie Monarch" had none wherewith to compensate his adherents for their sacrifices; but he tried to make some amends to Cogan by creating him a Baronet.

The Restoration was eventually brought about, and Sir Andrew Cogan availed himself of his recovered liberty to return for the last time to his native land. Soon afterwards Clement, who had been residing upwards of ten years at Greenwich, came to sad grief. Being proscribed as a regicide, he fled from Greenwich, and hid himself in a mean house in an obscure part of London. But he was betrayed there by his sonorous voice; whereupon he was brought to trial, found guilty, sentenced and executed. Then Cogan's elder daughter petitioned the King to order compensation to be made out of Clement's estate for the sufferings of her now aged father. She was compelled, she represented, owing to his want of means, to support him, and she had to sign bonds in order to prevent his being cast into jail as a debtor. Whether her prayer was granted is not known; but it is conjectured that Sir Andrew Cogan died shortly after the petition had been sent in. The daughter referred to married Christopher Musgrave, a grandson of Sir Philip Musgrave, second Baronet, the chief representative of a family that "came over with the Conqueror," and settled at Musgrave in Westmorland. Sir Philip was present at the battle of Worcester; followed Charles II to France, Holland and Scotland; bravely defended the Isle of Man against the Countess of Derby; and, for his great services in the Royal cause, received a warrant creating him Baron Musgrave, of Hartley Castle. But he did not take out the patent. Christopher Musgrave, Cogan's son-in-law, who eventually succeeded to the Baronetcy, was one of the Tellers of the Exchequer in the first year of the reign of

Queen Anne, after his two sons had filled in succession the office of Clerk of the Council of King James II. The present Sir Richard Musgrave, of Edenhall, Cumberland, twelfth Baronet, is consequently a direct descendant of one of the founders of Fort St. George, Madras.

Mr. Foster rightly contends that a share of the credit which is usually given to Day for the establishment of Fort St. George, rightly belongs to Cogan, as his official chief. The project certainly originated with Day, "and its successful accomplishment was largely due to his energy and perseverance; but it is equally certain that it would never have been carried out had he not been supported and assisted by Cogan; and it was the latter, as the superior officer, who took the responsibility." Yet, "nowadays," says Mr. Foster, "Cogan is quite forgotten, and Day gets all the praise." History is silent as to the fate not only of Mr. Day, but also of Mr. Morris, one of Mr. Cogan's two colleagues at Masulipatam. But Mr. Thomas Wintter—or Winter—was more fortunate, for he lived to a good age in his native land, and then dying, was interred in the old parish church of Fulham, where eventually a large monument, still in a good state of repair, was erected to his memory.

The monument is at the north end of the aisle of the church, and is formed of veined marble, nearly twelve feet in height, ornamented with festoons of flowers and leaves. It was once surmounted by an urn, on which the arms of Mr. Winter were represented; but the urn has disappeared. Upon a representation of drapery at the base of the monument is an inscription in Latin. This inscription, rendered into English, relates that "Here lies interred Thomas Winter, Esq., great grandson of that illustrious Winter who defeated the Invincible Armada of Spain." Then it is said that, "War being succeeded by peace, this son of peace made a commercial voyage to the Indies"—(*in Indos Mercator navigat*) — where he "governed and adorned Masulipatam" — *Masulipatamiæ præfecturam gessit et adornavit*). Then, "about twenty years

having elapsed, he returned home after a successful voyage, being sent by God, like another Joseph, to his father and relations, who were reduced to indigence on account of their fidelity to the best of Kings"—Charles I. "At length, having performed all the duties of a good man, after he had suffered a severe illness, with wonderful patience, for thirty-four years," he died, and "rested from his labours," January 15, 1681, aged sixty-six. It is added that the monument was erected by "his most afflicted wife as a mark of her affection." She eventually married Charles, eldest son of Sir Thomas Orby, of Lincolnshire, Baronet, and dying in 1689, aged fifty-four, she was buried beside her first husband.

Mr. Winter, it seems, was a member of the ancient English family of Wintour, or Winter, that is mentioned in records of the reigns of Henry I, Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III. His great grandfather, the "illustrious Winter" above named, having successfully defended Jersey against the French, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and appointed Master of Naval Stores. A little later the Queen placed him in command of her fleet in the Firth of Forth; and he succeeded in expelling the French from their lodgment in Leith. In 1562 he was associated with Sir John Hawkins in a scheme to open up trade between England and Guinea, Hispaniola, and Porto Rico; and in 1567 he was one of the English Envoys who were charged by the Queen to proceed to France, and demand the restoration to her of Calais. In 1575 Sir William Wintour—as he was called—entered Parliament; but I have failed to discover what Borough or County he represented, or how long he remained in the House of Commons. He was appointed, in 1588, second in command, under Lord H. Seymour, of the fleet that was despatched to confront the Spanish Armada; and he did fine service in his ship, the *Vanguard*, at the decisive action of July 29, off Gravelines. The Queen then promoted him to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and granted him the Manor of Lydney, in Gloucestershire. He died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his

son, Sir Edward Winter. The latter in due course was succeeded by his son, Sir John Winter, the father, I take it, of the Mr. Winter of Masulipatam. Sir John Winter was a staunch Royalist, and in consequence his estate was confiscated by vote of the House of Commons in 1648, or the year before the decapitation of the "best of Kings." Thus honourably was the Winter family ruined; and it was left for Mr. Winter to repair its fortunes by means of the wealth that he acquired during twenty years of exile in India.

There was another Winter connected with the early history of English adventure on the East Coast of India, namely, Sir Edward Winter, President, or Governor of Fort St. George, who was appointed to that position in 1661, or about fourteen years after Mr. Thomas Winter left Masulipatam. It is probable that the two Winters were closely related; brothers, perhaps. "No records have been preserved in this Presidency of an earlier date than 1670." So said Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*, and the information which he gave in that interesting work concerning Madras previous to 1670 was gleaned from *Bruce's Annals*, and other "antiquated volumes." It has to be borne in mind that some of the books of the class referred to, though compiled in England, "were sadly lacking in accuracy." The Directors of the East India Company were not inclined to take broad views of the ambition of literary men to place posterity under obligations by the conscientious scrutiny of official documents. This is certain, that when Sir Edward Winter became President, the Factory of Fort St. George had been established upwards of twenty years.

The "times were bad" for the Company, and Sir Edward Winter brought with him imperative directions to suppress, with a high hand, the chronic tendency of the factors to endeavour to make money by trading on their own account so that they might eke out their small salaries, instead of devoting themselves entirely to the commercial service of the Company. He was also charged with the general superintendence of the factories in Bengal, at Orissa

(founded by Mr. Day), Masulipatam, and elsewhere on the Coast. He was not only empowered to summarily dismiss, and forcibly deport all servants of the Company found guilty of engaging in trade on their own account; but also, under the warrant of King Charles II., he was authorized to seize and deport all other persons, not in the Company's service, who dared to engage in the private trade of the country, or to navigate ships belonging to the country powers. "He held the government"—according to Mr. Talboys Wheeler—"from 1661 to 1665 by right, and from 1665 to 1668 by usurpation."

Mr. Talboys Wheeler gives the story at length. It will suffice for my present purpose to mention that in 1665 Mr. Foxcroft arrived at Fort St. George from England with a commission directing him to supersede Sir Edward Winter. The latter was allowed to act as second in Council for three months, while he was understood to be making arrangements for his departure to England. But at the expiration of that time, and aided by a few other factors, he suddenly attacked Mr. Foxcroft, his son, and a Mr. Sambroke, and, after a desperate fight, in which one man was killed and several men were wounded, Mr. Foxcroft, young Foxcroft, and Mr. Sambroke were captured, and placed in confinement, charged with having uttered seditious and treasonable expressions about the King's Government. Thereupon Sir Edward Winter resumed the office of Governor, and reported his proceedings to the Court of Directors. He also addressed letters to the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury. He succeeded in "holding the Fort" until May, 1668, when he had to yield it to Commissioners empowered by the King to take charge of it, to release Mr. Foxcroft from his three years' imprisonment, and to reinstate him as President. But Mr. Foxcroft was not in favour at the India House; and later on Sir William Langhorne, and as many as six other Commissioners, arrived in Madras with instructions to investigate affairs. Mr. Foxcroft remained yet one year longer in office, and was then succeeded by Sir William Langhorne. During that year Sir Edward Winter remained in Madras disposing

of his property, and recovering debts due to him; and the Court of Directors "expressly ordered that he should be treated with every respect, and allowed a passage to England." Finally, in the year 1670,[1] both Mr. Foxcroft and Sir Edward Winter set sail for England, but not, it may be presumed, in the same ship.

Sir Edward Winter arrived safely in England; married Emma, a daughter of Mr. Richard Howe, of Norfolk; and, dying in 1685–86, at the age of sixty-four, he was buried in Battersea church. His widow raised a handsome white marble monument to his memory. It is surmounted by his bust, and has at foot a representation both of his struggle with a tiger, and of a fight he had with Moors. There is a Latin inscription which sets forth that, having set out from his fatherland, he traded very successfully in the East Indies, amassed great wealth, and might have gained more if he had not despised riches. Having lived in splendour and honour abroad he returned home. Then follow these lines:—

Born to be great in Fortune as in Mind,
Too great to be within an Isle confin'd;
Young, helpless, friendless, Seas unknown he try'd,
But English Courage all these wants supply'd.
A pregnant Wit, a painfull Diligence,
Care to provide, and Bounty to dispense,
Joyn'd with a Soul sincere, plain, open, just,
Procur'd him Friends, and Friends procur'd him Trust.
These were his Fortune's rise, and thus began
This hardy Youth, raised to a happy Man,
A rare Example, and unknown to most,
Where Wealth is gain'd, and Conscience is not lost,
Nor less in Martiall Honour was his name,
Witness his actions of Immortall Fame.
Alone, unarm'd, a Tyger he opprest,
And crush'd to death a monster of a Beast.
Thrice twenty mounted Moors he overthrew
Singly on foot, some wounded, some he slew,
Dispers'd ye rest: what more could Sampson do?
True to his Friends, a Terrour to his Foes,
Here now, in Peace, his honour'd bones repose.

[1] *See* Appendix II.:—"Fort St. George in 1673."

Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

MR. THOMAS PITT.

Governor of Fort St. George, 1698-1709.

CHAPTER II

"DIAMOND" PITT

LIKE Great Britain, Fort St. George has been governed during two epochs by men of the name of Pitt, for Thomas Pitt was Governor from 1698 to 1709, and his second cousin once removed,[1] George Morton Pitt, held that position from 1730 to 1735. The former was the son of the rector of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, where he was born in 1653, four years after the execution of King Charles I. He went to sea, in search of adventure and fortune; and, at the age of twenty-one, he turned up at Balasore; and, engaged as a merchant, in disregard of the East India Company's jealous and severe prohibition of "interloping." The local authorities of those days were in no mood to tolerate any trespassing on what they regarded as the lawful preserves of their "honourable masters," and they speedily arrested him, and brought him before the Council in Fort St. George, by whom he was severely admonished, and warned not to do it again. Thereupon he betook himself to Persia, to

[1] John Pitt, Clerk of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth, had two sons, Sir William Pitt, who died in 1636, and Thomas Pitt, who died in 1643. Sir William Pitt was the father of Edward Pitt; who was the father of John Pitt, who was the father of a second John Pitt, President of Council at Masulipatam; who was the father of George Morton Pitt, Governor of Madras (died 1756); who was the father of Harriet Pitt, who married Lord Brownlow Bertie, afterwards Duke of Ancaster, a relative of the two Lords Hobart, Governors of Madras. Thomas Pitt, second son of the Clerk of the Exchequer above named, was the father of the Rev. Thomas Pitt, Rector of Blandford; who was the father of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras; who was the father of Robert Pitt; who was the father of William Pitt. Earl of Chatham; who was the father of William Pitt, the younger.

see how the land lay there for enterprising spirits. It was well that he did so, for the magnates of Leadenhall Street ordered the Madras Government to secure him, "he being a desperate fellow, and one that, we fear, will not stick at doing any mischief that lies in his power." For all that, he returned to India, and built a factory at Hooghly, for which dire offence he was arrested, fined and deported. Nothing daunted, he retraced his steps to Dorsetshire, and in 1689 succeeded in obtaining election as member for the venal borough of Old Sarum, in the first Parliament of that interloping King, the Dutch William. He still held the seat until 1693, when he engaged in another excursion to Balasore on mercantile thoughts intent, and again brought himself under the ban of the Company. He remained about eighteen months in India, and then, returning home, was re-elected for Old Sarum. The Company had now realised that he was irrepressible; and, "taking a broad view of the position," the Directors resolved to come to terms with, and make use of the "desperate fellow." It suited him to meet the Company half way. Thus it happened that when the term of Nathaniel Higginson was approaching a close, the Directors offered Pitt the succession to the Governorship of Fort St. George.

It appears from the Court Book of the "Governour" and Directors of the East India Company that, on November 24, 1697, it was resolved: "That Captain Thomas Pitt was a person duly qualified to take charge" of "Fort St. George and the Subordinate Factoryes." Then the Court, by the Ballot, discharged "Lieut. Generall Higginson, according to his desire, from his present Employment, and by the Ballot elected the said Captain Thomas Pitt to be President accordingly." Two days later it was further recorded in the minutes, that "Captain Thomas Pitt, now comeing into Court, was made acquainted by the Governour, that he was unanimously elected to be President at Fort St. George, whereupon he took the Oaths appointed by the Charter, promising to improve his utmost ability and zeal for the Companys Service." But, though the Governor and Directors were favourable to Mr.

Pitt, then M.P. for Old Sarum, his selection was much disapproved by some of the stockholders, including Sir Josiah Child, who described him as "a roughling, immoral man." For his own part Pitt was only too glad to avail himself of the opportunity to add to such fortune as he had already acquired as an "interloper" in India. He secured a passage to Madras in the *Martha*, and obtained from the Court permission for his eldest son, Robert, to accompany him, and to "reside at Fort St. George," as a "free Merchant." As regarded his salary the Court, "having taken into consideration" that the former Presidents of Fort St. George "received only Two Hundred Pounds per Annum Salary, and One Hundred Pounds a year Gratuity . . . thought fit to make the same allowance" to "Thomas Pitt, Esq., who is elected President," and "that in his Indenture of Covenants the time of his service is to be for five years, and it is ordered that the sum of One Hundred Pounds be paid to him for fresh Provisions in his voyage."

He then embarked; and he arrived at Madras on July 6, 1698. The following notice of the event was entered in the Consultation Books of the Government on the following day—

Thursday, 7th July, 1698:—The Honorable Thomas Pitt, Esq., coming ashore about nine o'clock this morning, produced his Commission, dated 5th January, 1698, appointing him President for the Right Honorable Company's affairs on the Coast of Coromandel and Orissa, and of the Ginjee and Mahratta countries, and Governor of Fort St. George and Fort St. David, which being read, General Higginson did resign the Chair, and deliver the keys of the Fort to the said Thomas Pitt, Esq.

Pitt held the appointment of Governor of Fort St. George from July 7, 1698, until September 18, 1709, or for the unusual period of eleven years. "The political events, so to speak, of his long government"—Sir Henry Yule once remarked—"were few, in fact the politics of Anglo-Indian history were only nascent in his time"; and, had it not been for the romance of the diamond that Pitt bought and sold, and that is still associated with his name, his administration might not have attracted any notice after he left

Madras. But that gem not only aided in making him an historic character, but the proceeds of it went far to enrich descendants of his who took a very prominent part both in shaping the destinies of England, and in bringing about the fall of the Napoleonic Empire.

Three volumes, containing in all 1,832 closely printed pages, were recently devoted by the Historical Manuscripts Commission to the production of manuscripts preserved at Dropmore by Mr. J. B. Fortescue; and these volumes were duly "presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command," and were placed at the disposal of the public. A third of the contents is occupied by letters of much ability and historical value that were written by the Marquis of Buckingham—a nephew of Hester Grenville (who married William Pitt, Earl of Chatham), and great grandfather of the Duke of Buckingham, former Governor of Madras—to his brother, Lord Grenville, who lived at Dropmore; and less, yet considerable, space is occupied by letters that were written from Madras by Governor Thomas Pitt to his eldest son Robert, and to other persons regarding what he called his "grand concern," or his famous diamond. The letters form an important addition to the Pitt correspondence preserved in the British Museum, the India Office, London, and the Record Room, Fort St. George; and they throw a good deal of light upon the gentleman whom Pope is believed to have had in mind when he wrote in his *Moral Essays*—

> Asleep and naked as an Indian lay
> An honest factor stole a gem away;
> He pledged it to a Knight, the Knight had wit
> So robbed the robber, and was rich as P——.

According to Mr. Courthope, the last line in the Chauncy M.S., in the poet's handwriting, is as quoted above. But the more familiar line runs—

> So kept the diamond, and the rogue was bit.

It has been said that Robert Pitt accompanied his father, the new Governor, to Madras in 1798. Two months after

their arrival Robert wrote to his mother in England (a daughter of James Innes, of Reid Hall, Morayshire) to say:—"We arrived here on July 6th. I am bound for China in a few months." To China he went; and, on December 10, 1700, he wrote to his mother from Canton:—"I am here, supercargo of a Dane ship freighted by the gentlemen of Madras, and if it please God, shall make no small advantage of it. On my return to Madras I intend going home by the first ship that sails thence for England. As to the agreement between my father and me, the duty I owe him shall make me endeavour never to disoblige him." He reached Fort St. George, as he wrote to his mother, February 17, 1701, and "I continue," he said, "in my resolution of returning home. I find my father wavering in the matter, but unless his positive commands detain me, I design to leave for England next September." He had, however, to go back to Canton to complete some business. On December 20 he wrote to his mother:—"I am here supercargo of the *Hampshire* freighted by the freemen of Madras, and, thanks to the assistance of my father, in a post of the most trust, credit, and profit of any private person in India. I hope to arrive at Fort St. George ten days before the *Bedford* sails, on which I design sailing for England." So he once again reached Madras, but was detained there longer than he had anticipated, for his father had now acquired the famous diamond, and had resolved to send him home in charge of it.

The Governor, on October 9, 1702, drew up "Memorandums to my son Robert Pitt on his going to England." In this document he related how he had made Sir Stephen Evance, Knight, of London, and Robert, his attorneys. He touched upon "complaints against your mother which tend to my prejudice in many respects," and warned Robert not to allow her in future "to meddle in any business of mine." "And whereas," he continued,

I have intrusted under your care that which is of great value, which you must, by all meanes and diligence preserve lett what accident will befall you which God deliver you from; and if you

should have the misfortune, which God forbid, to be taken by an enemy, you must be sure to throw overboard every paper you have, and secure it in the best mannor you can, and be carefull afterwards that you are not discovered. But, if it pleases God that you arrive safe in England, I strictly charge you not to stirr out of the ship till Sir Stephen Evance or Mr. Alvareż comes on board, and would have you write from the first port you can send a letter to Sir Stephen Evance, desiring him to meet the ship as soon as possible ; till when you will remain on board, for that you have business of importance to impart to him. You must also be very carefull of this concerne on board the ship at sea and in harbour.

He also gave Robert instructions about his brothers William and Thomas, to "putt" them to the best schools in England "to learne Dutch, French, mathematics, merchants' accounts," and "all other accomplishments." Robert was also to "putt" his mother "in mind that she gives her daughters good education, and not to stick at any charge of it." He was also to look after the Governor's estates, plantations, and nurseries in England; and to "take memorandums" of the conversation of "relations or acquaintances of mine," "for or against my interest, and to acquaint mee of the same." Robert then embarked. Six days later the Governor wrote to him to say that he had received no letter from him after he had "got aboard." He requested him not to let slip any opportunity of writing :— "My credit as well as interest depends very much on your prudent management of yourself. If any should be inquisitive (I mean Sir Stephen or Mr. Alvarez) what that diamond cost, you may tell them about 130,000 pagodas. If the thing be kept secret, and well managed, it must yield an immense sum of money." In conclusion he urged his son to "avoid all vices, and an inconvenient or disreputable marriage."

In the following January the Governor, writing to Sir Stephen Evance, said that news had arrived of the outbreak of war in Europe, and he expressed the pious hope that :— "God grant this concern may escape the danger thereof." Peace would in due course follow war, and then the King of France or Spain would be the "fairest chapman for it, being

the greatest jewell in the world; though I could wish it were purchased for the Crown of England, provided they will come up to the value of it":—

I doubt not you will take care that it be lodged in a secure place, and if the times will not admit of your selling it for its full value, I hope you will be very cautious of letting it go out of your own possession. . . . You may bee sure I thinke dayly of this matter, and upon often meditating thereon, I am of opinion it bee kept intire, and if you thinke fitt to cutt it, I believe it will come out a cleane stone of about three hundred caratts, which, I hope, may bee worth, att least, fifteene hundred pounds per caratt. It must be sold directly to some great prince, and not to a club of people that shall make more advantage of it than myselfe, who have run the greatest of risques to purchase it. The foregoing is my opinion, but noe order to you, being well satisfyed of your worth, and assured you will doe for mee as for yourselves.

On April 29, 1703, the Governor, writing to his son, expressed the hope that by that date he had arrived in England "to look after all my affairs, more particularly the grand concern you carried with you. Pray fail not to write to me by all sea and land conveyances." He wrote to the like effect on November 8, and trusted that he had made the required delivery of "that which, if it answers my expectations, has not its fellow. I could wish, though I abated something of its true value, that the Crown would buy it, for the like will never be had again in these parts."

Soon after his arrival in England Robert Pitt fell in love with a grand-daughter of Lord Grandison, and married her. Mr. Thomas Styleman, writing from London, on November 18, to the Governor, assured him that the bride was a "very virtuous young lady with a good fortune." It was not, however, until December 30, or after the honeymoon, that Robert wrote to his father as follows:—

You always advised me against a disreputable marriage, which I have avoided by marrying a lady of family and character, with the approval of my mother, and of uncle Curgenven. Her fortune is but £2,000, and £1,000 more after the death of her father-in-law, Lieutenant-General Stewart. I hope I shall not be abandoned by you at a time when I have no other support but yourself since my alliance with the greatest families in England is as much to

your credit, as my wife will be a comfort to you when you know her. My present happiness is altogether due to you, as it was the universal report of your good and generous character that induced Lady Grandison to give me her daughter. Her age is 21, her portrait and letter, herewith, speak for themselves; and I hope to obtain some genteel employment by the intercession of her relatives.

In the same letter Robert gave his father "tidings of the safety of your great concern," and said he hoped that "something will be done in your great affair by next spring." With that object in view he was having a "crystal model made of it in its true polite style." And he observed:—

The King of Prussia, if able, is the likeliest chapman at present; though, were peace made, the King of France would certainly be the man. Mr. Cope has the cutting of it. Our present design is a single stone, and we hope to make it a brilliant. It proves the first water, but will be diminished almost one-half in cutting. We have so managed it that what is cut off is in great pieces, and will sell for a good sum of money. Mr. Cope says that when finished it will weigh about 280 carats, and will be the wonder of the world. We found means to enter it safely through the customs, and go on briskly perfecting it for sale. When you write, it were better, for fear of the miscarriage of a letter, to say little about it, and what you do say, to have a key to; by which means none but ourselves will understand it. On coming near England I thought it not safe to keep it as you delivered it to me; and, for better security, let Captain Boulton into the secret. We secured it, I think, so effectually that, had we been taken, we had preserved it. I presented him with a large silver punch-bowl to the value of thirty odd pounds, on your account, which, for his fidelity ever since in the matter, he deserved.

On September 12 following, the Governor, writing to Sir Stephen Evance, said "it was welcome news to hear of the safe arrival of that concern of mine"; it was "fortunate that it proves so good"; and he advised that "it be made one brilliant, which I would not have sold unless it be for a trifle less than £1,500 a carat, though, by all computations I can make, it is worth much more. It is my whole dependence, and, therefore, must be sold to the best advantage." But, writing on the same day to his son, he said he "little expected you would have paid so little attention to

the memorandums I gave you at parting." As regarded his marriage, the Governor thought that his son had justly brought himself "under the character of a giddy, inconsiderate young fellow." He chiefly disliked the "suddenness" of the marriage, and he much wondered "you desire a present enlargement of your fortune, which, with your wife's, cannot be much less than £10,000; a very good fortune for a young man qualified for business. I hope the great interest you value yourself on will procure you some considerable employ." Robert had made some allusions to his mother, and the Governor remarked that if what he wrote was true "she is mad," and he wished "she was well secured in Bedlam." At the same time "I charge you let nothing she says or does make you undutiful in any respect whatever." With regard to the sale of the diamond the Governor said:—"The Duke of Florence is more likely to be a chapman than the King of Prussia, but the Kings of France and Spain are better than either. I order you never to part with it under £1,500 a carat."

Before this harsh letter from his father reached him Robert wrote, on December 18, 1704, to say that "the cutting of your great concern licks off a world of money, and I hope that by the next ships you will have made us some remittances, or it will be very bare with us." He trusted, however, that the proceeds of the pieces that were being cut off the stone would greatly help to defray the charge for cutting. "We have lately sold three for £2,000, and anticipate that those still to come off will fetch as good a sum. The sawing them off is a vast charge; but otherwise they must have been cut into powder, so that what they produce above the charge is clear gain." In the same letter Robert reiterated the expression of the hope that the Governor had approved of his marriage. "My dependence on your love and generosity has made me endeavour to put myself on a footing in the world becoming your son; but without your support I must soon sink under the pressure of my own narrow fortune." This letter was crossed by one from the Governor, dated February 7, 1705, in which

he said :—"I have sent nothing to your wife but a letter, because I intend to follow speedily." He then reminded "both of you" that "good management is as necessary to preserve an estate as to raise one"; and he enjoined his son to stick close to his studies so as to make himself master of common and civil law, and to "preserve" what he knew of "mercantile and maritime affairs." A fortnight later he repeated his former direction :—"Never part with that concern of mine under £1,500 a carat." On October 12 the Governor wrote thus to Robert :—

> The disappointment in that grand concerne has not a little disquieted mee, and you nor Sir Stephen, nor any one of you never as much as hinted what, in all probability, it would fetch, which, you know, could not but have been some satisfaction to mee; and surely you must have had some discourse about it, and their opinion of it, which it seems must be kept a secret from mee. I charge you that you never permit the selling of it under £1,500 a carat, and that all my business bee managed with the greatest secresye, and quiett immagenable, and without ostentation. But I thinke it is too late to forbid that, since you have sett up to live at the rate I heare you doe, which has not created mee a little envye, and makes mee often remember Osborne, that children are certaine troubles but uncertaine comforts.

The Governor wrote on the same day to Mr. Cope, who was engaged upon the cutting of the diamond, and complained that whereas he had been led to expect that "it would make a clean stone, a brilliant of 280 carats, and the pieces sawed off worth a great sum," Mr. Cope now reported that it would be but 140 carats, and the "pieces worth little that are sawed off." Certainly, he added, Mr. Cope's judgment "cannot fairly vary so much, there being a window in the crown of the stone when it went hence, and the body very clear, when the skilful here could discover only two small flaws at one end."

The reduction in the weight was "hard to bear" after the stone "cost me a prodigious sum, and that I have run so many eminent hazards for me to meet with such usage."

> I flattered myself I was in good hands when in Mr. Cope's, but I am sure now I have better reason to alter my opinion than Mr. Cope

can have to alter his from 280 to 140. None can believe but that it was my interest to have preserved the magnitude of the stone, although there had been a flaw or two in it, and, as you told my son, 280 would make it the wonder of the world. I am sure it will be so, your paring it to 140. I will be speedily with you and discourse more fully about this matter."

Some time later the Governor, writing to Robert, said :—" Mr. Cope denies his ever telling you that my great concern would make a clean stone of 280 carats, and I am fully satisfied with his account of it." But Robert adhered to his original statement.

Although in the end his diamond realized a large sum, its possession embittered Governor Pitt's existence during the greater part of his service in Madras, as well as for some time after his return home, or while he was still in search of a "chapman," or buyer for it. There was, in the first place, its despatch, in charge of his son, to England ; the possibility of its loss by shipwreck on the high seas ; and the chance of the vessel being captured by a hostile warship, or pirate, with the failure of his son to secrete it. But the voyage was satisfactorily accomplished, and the diamond was placed by Robert in safe hands. Then, however, there appeared to the anxious Governor to be no small want of activity on the part of its custodians in having the gem properly cut, in the most economical manner. Instead of devoting himself heart and soul to the promotion of the paternal interests, both in respect to the "grand concern," and to the satisfactory realisation of "parcels" of diamonds that the Governor periodically shipped from Madras, the son must needs fall a victim to Cupid, and busy himself in the leading of a fascinating lady to the hymeneal altar. And the agent, Sir Stephen Evance, seemed to the Governor to be sometimes lacking in business-like zeal, and at other times to be in too poor a state of health to attend to the affairs entrusted to him. The Governor thus became a victim to morbid discontent, so that, judging from the querulousness of his correspondence with his more well-meaning than perhaps judicious son, he could not have been a pleasant

chief for his colleagues in Council, or other officials in Fort St. George to work with. He certainly made unfriends, not to say enemies, of his associates, and they retaliated as opportunity offered, and eventually succeeded in so prejudicing the minds of the members of the Court of Directors against him as to secure his recall.

But year after year passed, and found Mr. Pitt still Governor, with his mind warped by chronic apprehension about the outcome of the great venture of his life. During that weary period he seems to have hardly ever left Fort St. George. The Fort had some compensations, but it could scarcely have been a festive place of residence for a Governor living a solitary life. Exile in those days well deserved the name, for it was not tempered to the shorn lamb by mails, Hills, Clubs, polo, golf, tennis, dances, newspapers, magazines, ice, and tobacco, but it had to be borne with no better distraction than squabbles in Council, an occasional duel, and the constant danger of war. Madras was then no place for wives or daughters, or for billing and cooing, and the mind of the European immigrant was engrossed by the Company's, or yet more by private trade; so consolation for local discomforts had to be found in the hope of a good time coming, when the competency, or fortune, made in the East would render life enjoyable in the West. Robert knew Madras by personal experience, and was well acquainted with his father's manner of life there, so he could, and he loyally did, make generous allowance for the spleen that habitually characterized the paternal correspondence. But he had a good deal to put up with, and he may sometimes have wished that the "grand concern" had never been discovered.

On January 3, 1706, Robert wrote to the Governor, and having deprecated his displeasure, and repelled some personal allegations, proceeded to try to cheer him up with the news that the cutting of the stone was almost finished :—

It is a most glorious sight, but the outer coat was so foul, and the flaws went so deep in it, that it will not come net above 140 carats, which still, being not to be paralleled, is as inestimable as if it were

much more. The reason why the pieces [sawn off], although well-spread, yielded no more was that they were very full of flaws; Mr. Alvarez and Mr. Cope both think they have been sold for their full value. When finished the stone will be locked up pending your arrival or further order.

The letter was crossed on the high seas by one that the Governor wrote on January 16, in which he told Robert that the account which the latter had given in the previous year "of my grand concern still sticks with me, and nothing but a good market, and better management for the future can ever make me forget it." He added:—"Secresy, of which I fear there has been great want, though often and strenuously precautioned, may contribute to making the stone more valuable." The Governor declared that he had resolved to leave Madras for England in the following September, unless that should entail his resigning "the government of this place into the hands of Fraser, and such as are here." In a postscript he mentioned having "met with some diamonds," that cost 2,370 pagodas, and having consigned them to Robert; and he called Robert's attention to the circumstance that he had "made windows in the large stone, fearing it was yellow. If the water be good, make a brilliant of it, which will be worth £2,500 or £3,000; if it be yellow, make two roses of it. Sell them to the best advantage, and invest the money in some Parliamentary fund." Then, a fortnight later, the Governor wrote:—

I have met with a stone of 18 mangelleens, which cost me 2,100 pagodas. It is of the first water, without flaw or foul, so I hope you will sell it for at least £2,000. If cutting will advance the price, let it be done with the advice of Mr. Alvarez, and remember that you trust no acquaintance at Court with a penny of mine, under any pretence whatever. The stone which comes on the *Somers*, is the clearest that ever I saw in India. Pray see if you can manage this affair to my satisfaction, without noise or publishing it to the world. It is a noble stone, such as I have known sold for £4,000. God send that it comes safe to your hands, and that you meet with a good market for it.

A week later he again referred to the stone, and declared it to be "the most perfect as to water" which he had ever seen.

He hoped that Robert would "immediately sell it with the advice of Mr. Alvarez, without you have a prospect of advantage by keeping it, for I had rather sell and repent, than keep and repent."

September came round as usual, with its steamy air, dull skies, and those other characteristics that render it the dullest month of the year in Madras; and it was on the 22nd of that month, in 1706, that the Governor vented his spleen upon his family generally. Writing to Robert he demanded :—"What hellish planet is it that influences you all, and causes such unaccountable distraction, that it has published your shame to the world; which has so affected me that I cannot resolve what to doe. I wish you nor none of your family be at the bottome of it." The Governor had heard from several friends at home of Robert's extravagances; of the "vaine-glorious manner" in which he "went down to the election at Old Sarum"; of his "profuse expenditure in gaining there a seat in Parliament"; of his having exhausted his own fortune, and his wife's too. He then threatened to disinherit all his children unless they mended their manners. "Have all of you," he asked, "shook hands with shame, that you regard not any of the tyes of Christianity, humanity, consanguinity, duty, good morality, or anything that makes you differ from beasts, but must run from one end of the kingdome to the other, aspersing one another, and aiming at the ruine and destruction of each other?" But he concluded his tirade by expressing the hope to Robert that "what I consigned you last year came safe to your hands, and that you disposed of it, with Mr. Alvarez's opinion, much to my advantage, and if sold, that the money is put into some national fund; for remember it is a consignment, and not to be embezzled."

A fortnight later, the Governor once again wrote a fierce letter to Robert :—

Not only your letters, but all I have from friends are stuffed with an account of the hellish confusion that is in my family, and by what I can collect from all my letters, the vileness of you actions on all sides are not to be paralleled in history. Did ever

mother, brother. and sisters study one another's ruine and destruction more than my unfortunate and cursed family have done? And I wish you have not had the greatest share in it, for I cannot believe you innocent. This has so distracted my thoughts, staggered my resolutions, broken my measures, that I know not what to resolve upon, nor in what part of the world to seeke for repose.

He declared that he had "fateagued," and "lived soe many years in exile from my country and friends" though "I had enough to subsist on, and that very handsomely too," only in order to "make my children easy in their circumstances, and mee happy in their company"; but now "haveing, by God's blessing, acquired such a competency," as he "never expected or could hope for," he found "all blasted by an infamous wife and children." Was "this the way," he asked "to invite mee home? As matters stood at the writing of your letters I think your company hell itselfe." Yet he wound up his very long letter by giving Robert directions about planting his estates with as many trees as they "will take":—"You say my great concerne is the wonder of the world—soe is the confusion in my family. As for the former, I adhere to the price formerly ordered, and let it be locked up, and be you sure to keep one of the keys, and soe that neither will open it alone, and that it be never shown till I come home."

About the same time the Governor wrote to Sir Stephen Evance, and complained of the extravagant charges made by Mr. Cope for cutting the "grand concern."

I could wish the magnitude had been preserved, though there had been some speck or flaw. Since it proves so excellent, I hope this will make amends for the loss in weight, and that it shall never be disposed of till I meet with its value; therefore lock it up, and never expose it to view. I am sorry it is so much discoursed of as you mention, and do most earnestly desire you all to suppress gossip about it. I will not part with it for less than £1,500 a carat, which I look upon not to be above one-third of the real value.

In the following January Robert wrote to his father, and expressed sympathy with him in the disappointment he had been caused "in the weight of your grand concern":—

It has been finished ever since March last, and locked up in an iron chest which stands in Sir Stephen's back shop; he keeps the key of the padlock, and I keep two large keys which unlock the chest. I fear frequent advices have been given of it from Fort St. George; but am sure that by me it was never divulged. I have been asked about it by a hundred people, and all the answer I ever made was that I wished it were true, or that they could make their words good. The spread of it is not at all diminished; it is a perfect star to look at, and has no other significant defect than that of a chapman to buy it.

In February the Governor sent Robert the invoice and bill of lading for a "bulse of diamonds," that "are very good, and every one will make a brilliant, and they are not dear considering the times, the like of which has not been known for many years, which we impute in a great measure to the villainy of Pluymer, who informed the merchants here how they sold in England." The Governor warned Robert to be sure to be present at the opening of all "bulses of diamonds" consigned to him, for some persons had "the knack of changing stones, which is one of the worst of villanies." He considered it probable that England might succeed in placing Charles III on the throne of Spain; and this prompted the idea—

I know nothing that is portable he can so make his acknowledgements to our Queen in as that concern of mine. The like is not to be seen in this world, and whatever prince buys it, it will be afterwards reckoned inestimable. The price I have set upon it is very moderate, and I will not recede from it; and when wee have a peace, it is not unlikely but the French King may buy it out of his wonted vaineglory, that the world may see that, after so expensive a warr, he is able to buy such a jewell from all the Princes in Europe. I would have you consider with Mr. Dolben for the securest place to lodge that great concern, each of you keeping a key different from the other.

Time passed, but still did Governor Pitt remain in Madras, and invest in diamonds as opportunity offered. In February, 1707, he consigned some "bulses of diamonds" to Sir Stephen Evance, Mr. Dobbin, and Robert, and said they included one stone, weighing 61 mangelleens, which he valued at £10,000. At the same time he made various suggestions in regard to the custody and sale of the "grand concern."

No offer had yet been made for it, but the Governor was not induced by that circumstance to sanction a reduction in the price to be demanded for it. He wrote on September 16, 1707 :—

As to my *grande affaire*, I am firme as to the price I formerly fixed, unless it bee to a triffle in such a sum ; and as I hear that our nation is gratefully inclined, soe as to present Her Royall Majestye with the title of Empress, I am sure nothing can be soe great an ornament to soe glorious a title as the unparelleled jewel of the world ; soe hope you will manage it soe as to have it bought by the Crown, with whose conveniency if it stands not to pay ready money, I shall readyly agree to take a Parliamentary security upon a certain fund, with an usuall interest till the money be paid ; but if it be bought by any foreign Prince, I then desire you to insist on ready money, or unquestionable security.

He added in a postscript that should his friends be successful in disposing of "my grand affair," and "received part or the whole of the payment in ready money," he empowered them to lay that money out in purchases of land in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, or Hampshire. Four months more passed, and then the Governor again remarked in a letter to Robert that he had heard it was "intended by Parliament to make our Queen"—Queen Anne—an Empress, and that it seemed to him that "a nobler present cannot accompany soe glorious a title" than "my grand concern," or "if wee carry our day in Spaine, which God grant, King Charles cannot meet with the like to perpetuate his gratitude to the Queen, for that there is not the fellow of it in the world. God send me a good chapman for it."

The Governor made a further consignment of a "bulse of diamonds" costing 6,180 pagodas, to his agents, in September, 1708, and took the opportunity of saying that the "safest place for the chest that contains my grand affair to stand in is the Bank of England," and he begged that care might be taken that "no tricks are played when there is a necessity to show it." On the following day, writing to Robert alone, the Governor said that he hoped his sons would not allow any persons to survive who might take part in the "villainy" of "blowing open or carrying

away the chest." And "I wish in showing of it, which I would have you withstand without good reasons there be for it, and then see there be noe trick played to slide it away, and put a christiall in the room, of the same magnitude." Furthermore, in a postscript, the Governor charged his son

> that you never take the stone out upon any occasion, but that you yourselfe weigh it when you take it out and when you put it in; and that it be never out of your eye as much as in shifting from one hand to another; and if there should be any occasion to show it to the Queen, or any great man, you ought to have the charge of it; and the others goe in company with you. But remember that you are not drawn to goe into any company or place whilst you have it about you, for fear of the worst; but, I still say, the less it is shown the better.

Robert was also to be on his guard against "hucksters and sharpers that buy up diamonds." Repeatedly during the years 1707, 1708 and 1709 the Governor wrote about the safe custody of the diamond; and eventually the stone was removed from the shop of Sir Stephen Evance, in Lombard Street, London, to the keeping of Mr. George Pitt, M.P., of Strathfieldsaye, the Governor's kinsman.

At last, on September 17, 1709, the *Heathcote* arrived at Madras from England, bringing a despatch from the Court of Directors, advising the "dismission" of Governor Pitt "from their service," and "constituting" Mr. Gulstone Addison—brother of Joseph Addison, the essayist—"in his room." Pitt wrote to his son on the 21st, and said that he had surrendered the Government to Mr. Addison, and would at the same time have delivered the cash and all accounts, but "he was soe indispos'd that he could not receive 'em"; and when, two days later, Mr. Addison did appear at the Consultation Room, and went through the formality, he "laboured under most severe pains, which almost rendered his limbs useless to him." In Mr. Pitt's opinion the Directors "have made a very good choice in him for Governor, but God deliver us from such a Scandalous Councill unless it be two or three that are in it, and

as for that fellow Fraser, they had done the adventurer justice if they had sent him to the galley, but I suppose he is kept on to serve the turn of some of the Managers as infamous as himselfe." But Mr. Addison died at Madras on October 17, the day on which Mr. Pitt had arranged to embark; and in order to attend the funeral Mr. Pitt deferred his departure until the 21st. He then left fearing that the government of the Coast would devolve, as it did, "upon that wicked and vilest of wretches, Fraser, whose infamous principles and ignorance will ruine it for ever."

Although Mr. Addison held the supreme office in Madras for only twenty-nine days, the time sufficed for the presentation to him, in Council, of a memorial, in which two of his colleagues, Mr. William Fraser, and Mr. Thomas Frederick, together with Mr. Surapa, a native merchant, alleged that Governor Pitt had unfairly obtained his great diamond. This memorial has not been brought to light. It may have been destroyed by Governor Addison out of respect for the reputation of his predecessor, with the consent of the signatories; and were it not that it was made by Governor Pitt the chief reason for the "Declaration" on the subject which he, as will be shown, in disregard of the adage *Qui s'excuse s'accuse!* drew up at Bergen, nothing perhaps would have been known about it. When Mr. Fraser succeeded to the Governorship he was afforded the opportunity of gratifying any spite he may have cherished against Governor Pitt by instituting, avowedly on high moral grounds, an investigation into the circumstances under which Governor Pitt came into possession of the gem. But, so far as is known, he refrained from taking this advantage of an absent man. His first act was to invite his colleagues to let bygones be bygones. The record says:—

The Council being duly summoned met in consultation, and having taken their places, the President, rising from his chair, exhorted the gentlemen of the Council to forget and forgive whatever hitherto had given cause and occasion to the difference

that had formerly happened amongst them, and that all such piques might for ever be buried in oblivion; and that they might henceforward agree amongst themselves in the Unity of Love and firm Friendship, with all reciprocal respect to each other, in testimony of which they were desired to shake hands all of them, which was accordingly done with all promises of sincerity to the performance of the promises.

But Mr. Fraser proved so inefficient as Governor that the Court of Directors removed him from the appointment eighteen months after he succeeded to it; and as his name does not appear again in the records, it is probable that he returned home immediately after he was relieved by Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Thomas Frederick, the second in the trio of "most unparalleled villains" as described by Mr. Pitt in the Declaration, was one of Governor Pitt's colleagues in Council during the latter part of his administration. He married a daughter-in-law of Lieutenant Francis Seaton, Commandant of Fort St. George, and a Mr. Anthony Ettrick married a daughter of that Officer. When the latter marriage took place Governor Pitt wrote to the bridegroom's father, Mr. Edward Ettrick, in London, who was a kinsman of his, and said that the bride had a dowry of "about a thousand pounds," but "what is most valuable is that she is a vertuous, modest, good humour'd comely young woman, and I don't doubt will make him a good Wife, since he was resolv'd to marry in these parts, for she justly deserves the character I give her." So, "to contribute to their happiness," he advised Mr. Ettrick to send his son "a couple of thousand pounds, or what you can conveniently give him to enable him to trade." Yet, in the following year, after he had, as he wrote to Robert, "discovered an unparalleled villainy of Seaton's, who has been tampering with the Moors to inform 'em that I bought great diamonds," and when called to account had given expression to "the strongest execrations and asseverations as the wickedest man could be guilty of," the Governor remarked sarcastically, "Frederick, Wright, and Ettrick have marry'd into a

blessed family." There had been trouble in Madras over the old question of right and left hand caste, and this "poor mischievous wretch," Frederick, had, like Fraser, formed opinions contrary to those of the Governor, so "I immediately sent for" this "choice servant of yours," and "lock'd the door of the Consultation Room, and laid the key upon the table, and very freely told him how I would use mutineers, and begin with him, then showed him the list, when he let fall a few penitent tears, and promised amendment." Mr. Frederick eventually left Madras, and, after his return home, he received the honour of Knighthood from King George the First.

It remains to say something about Lieutenant Seaton, for although his name is not mentioned in the Declaration, which was executed after he had ceased to be officially connected with, and had left Madras, there is reason to believe that he had much to do with the dissemination of the scandal about the diamond. He arrived in India in the year 1686, for it was mentioned in a General Letter that was written by Governor Higginson and Council to the Court of Directors, in August, 1695, that "he has served your Honours nine years in Bengal and this garrison, and is a very able and useful officer." Shortly after Governor Pitt succeeded Governor Harrison, a complaint was made to the Council by Lieutenant Sinclair, that he had been called a coward, and assaulted by Lieutenant Seaton. The latter Officer was thereupon examined by the Council, and admitted that there "did pass some foolish language between them," but he disowned having struck Sinclair. For all that he was "dismissed the service," though he was subsequently reinstated on petition. According to Mr. Talboys Wheeler "a similar punishment and reinstatement had befallen this officer on previous occasions. He appears to have been a brave man, and a good Commandant, but to have been somewhat addicted to drunkenness and eccentricity." On February 27, 1707, the Governor brought before the Council "the insolent conduct of Captain Seaton, who on Sunday last marched part of his company (and had all had not the

Governor commanded them off) over the company's calicoes that lay a dyeing, notwithstanding there was much more than room enough to have marched the men clear of them as usual; and afterwards, when the Governor sent for him to demand his reason for doing so base an action, he had the impudence to tell him he did not understand it." The Governor was of opinion that such a man was not fit to serve the Company any longer; but the Council took a more lenient view, and agreed that he "stand suspended, and that the consideration of breaking him be referred to another time." So Seaton was suspended, after twenty years' service. But he made a strong appeal to the Court of Directors, and eventually was reinstated in his command.

Two more years passed, and then the Governor represented to the Council that he had "lately heard of some villainous and scandalous reflections that had been made upon him by Lieutenant Seaton, who he yesterday sent for from the Mount, and examined thereon"; and who "with his usual impudence averred to him the most notorious falsities that ever could be thought or imagined." The Governor laid before his colleagues the following memorandum as to what had passed between himself and the Lieutenant in the Consultation Room on the preceding day:—

This evening being the 2nd of August, about five o'clock, I discoursed with Captain Seaton in the Consultation Room, when I charged him with his having said that I had 500 pagodas given me to make Paupia Chief Dubash; which he owned, and he told me that I was betrayed in whatever I did, or spoke by all my servants about me, and that I had not a friend in the place, whatever I thought. Then I asked how he durst presume to talk up and down of what I bought or sold, and how it was possible for him to know anything of it; to which he answered that he had so good intelligence that there was not the least thing said or done by me but that he knew; and to convince me desired leave to ask me some questions, which I permitted him to do, and were as follows:—"Whether Mr. Roberts did not write to me, requesting that he might be concerned in a great diamond I had bought?" Answered: "False." "Whether a person did not come and wish me joy of its being sold for 500,000 dollars?" "False." "Whether two persons did not come from the Dekkan to demand a great diamond, and that I gave one of them at coming 11 rupees, and the other at going away 150?" "All false, only that one man came."

Upon which I told him that I found him a villain; and as I found him endeavouring to betray me doubtless he would do the same to the Government, so ordered the Captain of the Guard to confine him to the Ensign's Room, none to come to him but the Council.

The Council sent for Seaton, but before the inquiry commenced, he exclaimed :—"I am come here to accuse the Governor for buying a great diamond to the Company's prejudice." He said he was fully acquainted with the particulars of the transaction, and that as there would be a change of Government in the following month he did not care a farthing what Governor Pitt said to, or of him. He also brought other accusations against the Governor, which the latter indignantly denied. Seaton was remanded, but in the following week he was again brought before the Council—then formed of Thomas Pitt (Governor and President), William Martin, Robert Raworth, Thomas Frederick, Gulstone Addison, Richard Hunt and Henry Davenport—and, according to the record of the "Consultation" which, judging from the phraseology, was probably drafted by the Governor :—

The Governor told him it was high time to read to him what he said to him on the 2nd instant in this Consultation room, and what he said the next day there, before the Governour and Councill, and demanded of him to prove the same, instead thereof he impudently denyed all he had said in private to the Governour and Councill, with strange imprecations and asseverations of God's Vengeance upon him if ever he had said it, this from any other man in the world would have amazed us all, but by the many years experience of him, we are entirely satisfyed that he is a person capable of perpetrating any villainy that can be named.

The Governor then produced two letters that "charged" the prisoner "with a great deal more" :—

So we demanded him whether he had anything more to say, to which he answered that he had not, and as he withdrew denyed again all he was charged with . . . there is no ill action can be named but what we believe he has been Guilty of, as well as what now charged with, and that he has been many years the Plague, Pest, and Disturber of the Peace of the Place, and now to compleat his Villainy, aims at nothing else than the betraying the Governour and trade of the place.

Accordingly, it was "unanimously agreed that he be confined till the first ship goes for England, and in her to be sent home a prisoner to the Company." A few days later, after the *Heathcote* had arrived, it was determined by the Council that Seaton should be sent home under arrest in her, in which case he would have been a fellow-passenger of Governor Pitt. But Seaton first resisted removal from his house, and then, being taken therefrom by a "file of soldiers," and conveyed in a masoolah boat to the ship's side, he refused to go on board, or to be hoisted up. The Captain of the ship was requested by Ensign Dixon, who was in charge of the "prisoner," to render assistance; but he declared that "all his passengers came on board willingly, and he would not hoist him in, nor suffer anybody else to do it, nor would he overhale the least tackle in his ship, and that he would not suffer any gentleman lying alongside of his ship to be forced on board, or ill used." The Ensign requested the Captain to give him a note to this effect, but the Captain replied that he "would give none," and that the Ensign "might go." The boat then returned to the Fort, by the Sea Gate, and Seaton landed, and was allowed by the Government to make his own arrangements about leaving the Presidency forthwith.

But I must return to Governor Pitt, who was homeward bound on the *Heathcote*. It may have been mortifying to him as he pursued his voyage to reflect that the "grand concern" was still on his hands; but he derived consolation from the belief that he had left Madras in a flourishing condition. He told his son:—

I delivered it up in the most flourishing state that ever any place of the world was in, vastly rich notwithstanding our great losses, and famous throughout all those parts of the world for our honourable and just dealings; free from all manner of tyranny, extortion, oppression or corruption as to mee (I wish I could averr the same of others), which I suppressed as far as it was in my power, and prevented its being very burthensome to the commonalty; which occasioned the clamours of those few who are the scum and scorne of the place, yet supported by their correspondents in England, who study to promote their private interest at the hazard of sacrificing that of all the

adventurers. This is demonstrable by their last yeare's generall letter, of which I had the perusall, when I admired as much at the weakeness of their management as I did at their mallice and false suggestions of mee. I shall give but few instances here of the flourishing condition of Maderass. In May or June last there was at one time 50 sayle of ships in the roade, besides small craft at least 200; the revenues of last yeare amounting between 70 and 800,000! pagodas, of which above 10,000 arises out of the Mint. The place, when I left it, was not onely admired, but in favour of all the Kings and Princes in those parts; a regular and peaceable government within ourselves, and continued friendship of all about us.

This complacent sketch of the city of Madras nearly two centuries ago is not in harmony with a description of the burial-ground of St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, that is contained in a petition which was addressed, four months after Governor Pitt's departure, to Governor Fraser and his colleagues in Council, by the Rev. George Lewes and the Rev. Robert Jones, the Ministers, and Mr. Edward Barkham and Mr. Francis Cooks, the churchwardens. It was humbly represented in that document:—

That whereas the monuments of the dead, and the ground where they are interred, are held by most people in some measure sacred, and not lightly applied to any common or profane use, yet it is our misfortune that the English burying-place in Fort St. George (where so many of our relations, friends. and acquaintants lie buried) is not kept in that decent and due manner it ought to be, but every day profaned and applied to the most vile and undecent uses, for since the year 1701, when an old building that stood in the burying-place (and in which the buffaloes used to be shut up) was taken down to build lodging for the soldiers at the Gate adjoining, the tombs have been made use of for stables for the buffaloes, which is not only a thing very undecent, but also a very great damage to those buildings, by having so many stakes drove into the pavement, and with the walls to fasten the buffaloes to.

The petitioners also complained of the nuisance which was caused by the toddymen who had charge of the "cocoanut trees standing in the burying-place"; of how toddy was sold on the spot; of how the place consequently was the "resort of basket-makers, scavengers, people that look after the buffaloes and other Parriars"; and of how "beggars and

other vagabonds, who know not where to go make use of the tombs to lie in." Lastly :—

> We hope what is here urged, together with the reflection it must cast on our Church and Nation to have so little regard to the repositories of our dead when all other nations who live among us have so just a regard to theirs, will prevail with your Honours, etc., to take this matter into your consideration, and to find out some method to redress these abuses.

The *Heathcote* did not reach the Cape until January 15—a voyage of nearly three months from Madras. "To prevent a long delay," as Pitt wrote to his son, he took his "passage thence to Europe on a Danes ship," bound not for London, but for Bergen, in Norway, which he reached on May 30. He lost no time after his arrival there in resuming his complaints about the "disorder in my family," and their want of "defference to my orders" regarding their allowances; and he reiterated his threats about the punitive provisions he would make in his Will. "For some particular reasons, with which I shall acquaint you when wee meete, I desire you, upon receipt of this, to deliver to my kinsman, George Pitt, my large diamond cutt into a brillion by Mr. Cope, weighing about 136 carratts." At the same time he urged Robert to "negotiate all his affairs with as much secresye as possible, which you have never regarded to the prejudice of my affaires, especially in regard to my grand concerne." Much care was to be exercised in the delivery of the stone to "Cousin George Pitt"; and Robert must be on his guard against "villaines' informations from abroad." In case of George Pitt's "mortality, it is to be delivered to you, who are to follow the directions I have wrote him; and if you have a model of it by you, or can get one made immediately, send it to me to Copenhagen with my first letters; gett Mr. Cope to cutt two or three in cristyall."

Pitt employed his leisure at Bergen in drawing up a notable "Declaration," which he enclosed in an envelope on which he wrote :—"In case of the Death of me, Tho: Pitt, I direct that this Paper, seal'd as it is, be deliver'd to my son, Robert Pitt." The contents of the packet were not

made public until 1743, seventeen years after the death of the Governor, and sixteen years after that of his son, when the Declaration was published in the *Daily Post* of London, with the following explanation :—

The Publick will no doubt expect some Reasons for inserting at this Time of Day anything on so old an affair as the Manner in which the late Governor Pitt purchas'd the large Diamond which he sold to the French King. All we can say is, that we have done it by Desire, and hope the following Piece will give satisfaction to all those who may still suspect that that Gentleman did not come fairly by the stone.

The Declaration was subsequently republished in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1776 ; the *European Magazine*, 1793 ; and elsewhere. It is as follows :—

Since my coming into this melancholy place of Bergen, I have been often thinking of the most unparalleled villainy of William Fraser, Thomas Frederick, and Surapa, a black merchant, who brought a paper before Governor Addison in Council, insinuating that I had unfairly got possession of a large Diamond, which tended so much to the prejudice of my reputation, and the ruin of my estate, that I thought it necessary to keep by me the true relation how I purchased it in all respects, that so, in case of sudden mortality, my children and friends may be apprised of the whole matter, and so enabled thereby to put to silence, and confound those, and all other villains in their base attempts against either. Not having got my books by me at present, I cannot be positive as to the time, but for the manner of purchasing it I do here declare and assert, under my hand, in the presence of God Almighty, as I hope for salvation through the merits and intercession of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, that this is the truth, and if it be not, let God deny it to me to my children for ever, which I would be so far from saying, much less leave it under my hand, that I would not be guilty of the least untruth in the relation of it for the riches and honour of the whole world.

About two or three years after my arrival at Madras, which was in July, 1698, I heard there were large diamonds in the country to be sold, which I encouraged to be brought down, promising to be their chapman, if they would be reasonable therein ; upon which Jamchund, one the most eminent diamond merchants in those parts, came down about December, 1701, and brought with him a large rough stone, about 305 mangelins, and some small ones, which myself and others bought ; but he asking a very extravagant price for the great one, I did not think of meddling with it when he left me for some days, and then came and took it away again ; and did so several times, not

insisting upon less than 200,000 pagodas ; and, as I best remember, I did not bid him above 30,000, and had little thoughts of buying it for that. I considered there were many and great risques to be run not only in cutting it, but also whether it would prove pale or clear, or the water good ; besides I thought it too great an amount to be adventured home in one bottom. But Jamchund resolved to return speedily to his own country so that as I best remember it was in February following he came to me (with Vincatee Chittee, who was always with him), when I discoursed with him about it, and pressed me to know, whether I resolved to buy it, when he came down to 100,000 pagodas and something under before we parted, when we agreed upon a day to meet, and make a final end thereof one way or other, which I believe was the latter end of the foresaid month, or the beginning of March, when we accordingly met in the Consultation Room where, after a great deal of talk, I brought him down to 55,000 pagodas, and advanced to 45,000, resolving to give no more, and he likewise resolving not to abate, I delivered him up the stone, and we took a friendly leave of one another. Mr. Benyon was then writing in my closet, with whom I discoursed on what had passed, and told him how I was clear of it, when about an hour after, my servant brought me word that Jamchund and Vincatee Chittee were at the door, who being called in, they used a great many expressions in praise of the stone, and told me he had rather I should buy it than anybody, and to give an instance thereof, offered it for 50,000 ; so believing it must be a pennyworth, if it proved good, I offered to part the 5,000 pagodas that was then between us, which he would not hearken to, and was going out of the room again, when he turned back and told me that I should have it for 49,000, but I still adhered to what I had before offered him, when presently he came to 48,000, and made a solemn vow he would not part with it a pagoda under, when I went again into the closet to Mr. Benyon, and told him what had passed, saying that if it was worth 47,500 it was worth 48,000, so I closed with him for that sum, when he deliver'd me the stone, for which I paid very honourably, as by my books appear.

And hereby I further call God to witness, that I never used the least threatening word at any of our meetings to induce him to sell it to me ; and God Himself knows it was never so much as in my thoughts to do so, since which I have had frequent and considerable dealings with this man, and trusted him with several sums of money, and balanced several accounts with him, and left upwards of 2,000 pagodas in his hands at my coming away. So had I used the least indirect means to have got it from him, would not he have made himself satisfaction when he has had money so often in his hands ? Or would I have trusted him afterwards, as I did, preferable to all other diamond merchants ? As this is the truth, so I hope for God's blessing upon this and all my other affairs in this world, and eternal happiness hereafter.

Written and signed by me in Bergen, July 29th, 1710.

Thomas Pitt.

Pitt arrived in England in the autumn of 1710, after an absence of thirteen years, during which he had largely increased his fortune. Soon after he reached London he attended, by request, a meeting of the Court of Directors, and was informed that a letter had been received from the President and Council of Fort St. George, forwarding a translation of a letter from "Duan Saudatulla Cawn," "intimating something of a great Dyamond but soe intricate and obscure we cant perfectly tell his meaning," yet demanding that the diamond "should be sent to the Mogull." The Governor then "discoursed with the Court thereupon"; and the matter was eventually referred to the Committee of Correspondence, who informed the Madras authorities that perhaps some of them did not know what to make of the Dewan's demand, "but we apprehend that those who have supported Captain Seaton are let further into the secrett." There the subject of the diamond seems to have rested so far as the Company was concerned.

On October 2, 1714, the Governor wrote to his son Robert to say:—"I was this day above an hour with the King and Prince; certainly their aspect promises prosperity to England. I showed them the great diamond, which they admired, and seeme desireous of it, but, I believe, hope the nation will give it." King George the First — to whom the reference is made — lacked, however, the necessary funds for the purchase of the stone. Pitt was now again in Parliament; he had been honoured with the offer of, he had accepted, but had, on second thoughts, declined the Governorship of Jamaica; he had bought large estates, and by improvements had greatly increased their value; he had become connected with several noble families; and he could still afford to hold the diamond. Yet he was not happy. He told Robert:—"I am overwhelmed with trouble, care, and confusion, and wish I was gone, hopeing then to have a little *requiem*, for here I can not." In succeeding letters he harped again upon the well-thumbed string about the

confusion in, and the extravagance of his family. On one occasion he said :—"I have bin at great expences at home, the great diamond unsold, soe in my sixty-fourth years of my age, I am travelling to retrieve this, and seeke my quiett and endeavoure to forgett it if I can. God's will bee done."

Shortly afterwards, however, he was afforded the satisfaction of selling the diamond—after having held it for fifteen years—to the Duc d'Orleans, the Regent of France. But this stroke of good fortune did not make him more amiable. Writing to Robert, on June 29, 1717, he said :—"I cannot help impertinent fools medleing with my busyness that they had nothing to do with. The stone was sold for 2,000,000 livres, sixteen to one pound sterling (125,000*l.*). I received the third of the money, and the remainder is in four payments, every six months, with 5 per cent. interest; for security of which I have Crown jewels, four parcels, one to be delivered at each payment." He had sold the stone for a princely price, but he strongly objected notwithstanding to what he described as the "hellish and unjust demand" for 5 per cent. commission on the transaction that was made in the Court of Chancery by Sir Cæsar Child and Co., on behalf of the trustees of Sir Stephen Evance, many years his agent. How the claim was settled does not appear in the manuscripts just published.

It was related in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1776 that the Governor having "engaged to deliver" his diamond at Calais, determined to convey it thither in person, and on his way, dining at the Crown Inn at Canterbury, where his son, Lord Londonderry, was then quartered with his Regiment of Dragoons, he called up the landlord, Mr. Lacy, a "man of address," who had been Consul at Lisbon, and told him that when he travelled he always carried his own wine, not being able to meet with such on the road, and desired him to taste it, and give his opinion. Lacy did so, gave it due commendation, and expressed the wish that he could have treated his guest with as good.

Upon this the Governor made him fill his glass a second time, and at length was so pleased with his frankness as to tell him he liked him much, and wished it was in his power to serve him. To this the landlord innocently replied that the Governor had a pebble in his possession which might do him the utmost service. On this the Governor, thinking the secret of his having it with him was betrayed, and known, flew into a violent rage, abusing poor Lacy in the grossest terms, so that he ran out of the room. He declared that he would be waylaid, murdered, etc. In vain did his son and other Officers endeavour to pacify him, telling him that if he himself did not make the discovery no one would know it. He insisted on having a guard mounted directly. Lord Londonderry then said that there was one already with the standard. But he demanded a guard to Dover; and at length, as a compromise, he accepted the escort of the Officers and their servants, giving them a second dinner there. He took two of the Officers to Calais (one of them related this anecdote); and, "after getting rid of the incumbrance of the pebble, *en gaiêté de cœur*, he franked his companions to Paris and back again."

Mr. William Meyrick, writing to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1825, said :—

The Diamond was sold to the King of France, and the Crown Jewels of France, the sealed packets numbered, were pledged for the payment of it. My great-grandfather, Mr. Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, who was for forty-two years M.P. for the county Palatine of Chester, at stated periods took one of these packets to Dover, which he delivered to a messenger of the King, and received from him an instalment of the purchase money. This descended principally in the other branches of the Governor Pitt's family ; but the estates I possess in Dorsetshire, Devon and Wilts, were purchased with a part of this money, on the marriage of his second son, Colonel Thomas Pitt, afterwards Earl of Londonderry, with Lady Frances, daughter of Robert Ridgeway, Earl of Londonderry. The ancient house at Woodlands, in the parish of Mere, Wilts, is a part of this property Ridgeway. The last Earl of Londonderry, of the Pitt family, having broken his leg in shooting, died at Woodgate's Manor, a part also of this property, eleven miles from Blandford.

Pitt was the owner of the estate of Mawarden Court, near

Salisbury, in Wilts, before he accepted the Governorship. He subsequently acquired the estates of the Down, near Blandford, of Kynaston, Woodyates and Gussech, all in Dorsetshire ; of Boconnoc, Broadoak and Treskillard in Cornwall ; of Abbots Ann in Hampshire ; and of Swallowfield in Berks. He succumbed at Swallowfield on April 28, 1726, after two days' illness, to what Robert described in a letter to a friend as, "distemper, a mixture of appoplexey and palsie." He was then seventy-three years of age. Like his father and other relatives who predeceased him, he was buried at St. Mary's Church, Blandford—an edifice which he had assisted to restore, and to which he presented some Communion plate. He added to it a chapel as a burial-place for members of his family. Shortly after the interment a brass tablet bearing this inscription was placed in the chapel :—

To the Glory of God. Thomas Pitt of this place, in the year of our Lord 1711, very much repaired and beautified this Church, dedicating his substance to his Maker in that place where he himself was dedicated to His service. In this pious action he is alone, his own example and copy ; this being a specimen of many of like nature. Thus by building God's house he has most wisely laid a sure foundation in his own ; and by honouring the name of the Almighty has transmitted himself to posterity by such actions as deserve not only this perishing register, but also to be had in everlasting remembrance.

But, by the irony of fate, the brass was removed in 1861, when the building was restored, and was not replaced. Nor is there now any memorial in the Church of the Governor ; but, on the north side of the nave, there is a mural monument which he erected in 1711 in honour of his father. The inscription on this monument commences as follows :—

Vir reverendus Johannes Pitt, hujus ecclesiæ per annos viginti octo pastor fidelis, vitæ integritate morum probitate, et doctrinæ spectabilis. Duxit uxorum Saram. Johannis Jay generosi filiam, ex eaq : Dei dono, suscepit liberos novem, e quibus Johannes, Sara, Thomas, Georgius, et Dorothea ipsi susperstites. Obiit Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1672, aetatis suæ 62.

The Governor then proceeded to allude to himself :—

Hanc inscriptionem, postquam hanc sacram ædem instauraverat, ornavit Thomas Pitt, armiger, defuncti filius natu secundus, qui post

varias utriusq ; fortunæ vices, et multos terra mariq : exantlatos labores, demum opibus et honoribus auctus et in hanc sedem natalem redux erga Patrem cœlestem et terristrem pietatis suœ duplex erexit monumentum Anno Domini 1712.

Mrs. Pitt survived her husband ten months; his eldest son Robert thirteen months; and his second son, created Earl of Londonderry, three years. They were buried in the family vault at Blandford. The Governor's third son, Colonel John Pitt, M.P., became Lieutenant-Governor of Bermuda; and his elder daughter, Lucy Pitt, married the first Earl Stanhope.[1] His grandson, William Pitt, (younger son of Robert) became Prime Minister of England and Earl of Chatham; and his numerous great-grandchildren included Thomas Pitt, created Baron Camelford; John, second Earl of Chatham; William Pitt, the younger, Prime Minister; Charles, third Earl Stanhope, who married Lady Hester Pitt, eldest daughter of Lord Chatham; and Christian, who married Thomas Saunders, Governor of Fort St. George from 1750 to 1755. He left a large fortune, and Robert, the eldest son, was the chief beneficiary under his Will. Thus the latter became possessed of the Governor's house in Pall Mall, London; of ground rents in Dean Street, Soho; of "all my messuages and hereditaments in or near Dean Street"; "all my manors at Blandford St. Mary, and Kinston, or elsewhere in Co. Dorset, Abbots Aunt in Co. Southampton, Stratford in Co. Wilts, and other lands in the Counties of Devon and Cornwall lately bought, or to be bought from Lady Mohun, also Manor of Swallowfield

[1] I am indebted to the late (the sixth) Earl Stanhope, for the permission which enabled me to have the portrait of Governor Pitt, by Sir Godfrey Kneller—now among the art treasures at Chevening—photographed for reproduc ion in this volume. Lord Stanhope died while the book was in the press. I sent him a proof of the illustration a few days previously, and he wrote from the Carlton Club, and said :—"I thank you very much for the excellent engraving which you have so kindly sent me from the photograph of the picture of Governor Pitt. It is a very good reproduction, and I am very grateful to you for it." In a previous note he mentioned that "the painting shows the high heeled boot in which Governor Pitt carried for safety the famous Pitt Diamond."

in Co. Berks"; certain leaseholds at Old Sarum; and "household goods at Swallowfield, Old Sarum, Blandford, Kainston, and Boconnock." In addition to numerous legacies, amounting to about £22,000, there were several annuities, including one of £200 "to my grandson, William Pitt"—the future Earl of Chatham—"from the age of twenty-one during his life."

It thus came to pass that that famous grandson was reminded throughout his career of his notable grandfather. He married Lady Hester Grenville, daughter of Hester, Countess Temple and Mr. Richard Grenville, of Wotton, Buckinghamshire; and it was not a little owing to her refined taste in architecture, decoration, and especially horticulture, that he found abiding charm in Hayes Place,[1] the house that he built near Bromley, Kent. It was at Hayes that his second son—William Pitt the younger—was born; and it was at Hayes that he himself died. Lady Chatham's great-grand-nephew, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, became in due course a successor of Lord Chatham's grandfather in the Governorship of Madras. Essentially strenuous, unassuming, and benevolent, that lamented satrap seemed to be ever animated by a lofty sense of personal responsibility. No climatic or other inconveniences, no sense of the incongruity between his surroundings in India and those which he had left behind in England, deterred him from discharging in a genial and thorough manner what he honestly regarded as his duty.

No one of such illustrious ancestry and exalted rank as his had ever before held office in India, a fact that appealed strongly to the imagination of Indians, who have an instinctive reverence for good birth; while he was seen on all sides to be a man of generous impulses and simple tastes, who took an inexhaustible interest in everything and everybody around him. He reigned; and there was no mistake about his governing. In short, he lived up

[1] See Appendix IV., "Hayes Place."

Photo by the London Stereoscopic Company.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, G.C.S.I.,
Governor of Madras, 1875 - 1880.

to the motto conferred by Queen Victoria (at the felicitous suggestion of the Prince Consort), upon the Exalted Order of the Star of India, which he received from Her Majesty, of :— "Heaven's Light our Guide."

It was my good fortune on many occasions, long years ago, to be the guest at Hayes of the late Mr. Edward Wilson, chief Proprietor of the Melbourne *Argus*, who had a long lease of it. I was usually allotted the room in which the younger Pitt is believed to have been born—a room, at the south-west corner of the mansion, that has been appropriately enriched by Mr. Hambro, the present owner of the property, with engravings and mezzotints of portraits of that eminent statesman. Shortly before his death (in the bay-windowed room, with a westerly aspect, in which Lord Chatham also passed away) Mr. Wilson sent me at Madras an album, labelled "In Memoriam," containing views of the house and grounds. Subsequently, as the result of a conversation that I had with the Duke of Buckingham, I forwarded the album for his inspection. He sent it back with the following characteristic note : "I return your interesting photograph book of Hayes with many thanks. Why did I keep it so long ? Because I wished to recall more clearly the many anecdotes I had heard and read of bygone days passed there by ancestors, and also to try and find some old views of Hayes in those days, which I thought I had by me here amongst the books I brought out, but which, however, I have been unsuccessful in laying my hands upon."

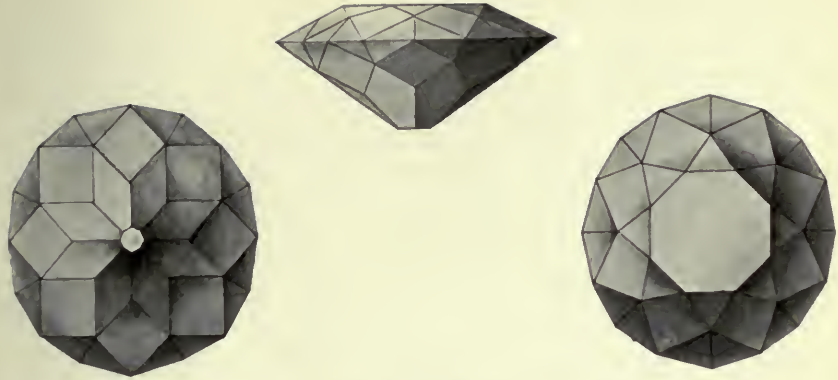
As for the Pitt diamond, it was first employed, after it became one of the Crown jewels of France, in the ornamentation of the Crown that was made for the Coronation of King Louis XV, in 1722. In 1791 it was entered in an inventory of Crown jewels that was compiled by order of the National Assembly during the Revolution, and it was deposited at the Garde Meuble, after the Assembly had determined to sell it if a buyer at a suitable price could be found. But no offer was made, and so it happened that in September it was stolen with other jewels by a band of men who broke into the Garde

Meuble. It was secreted by the thieves in a hole in the timber-work of a garret in a low lodging ; and there it remained some time. It was at length discovered by the Republican authorities, and deposited in the National Treasury. It was not again disturbed until 1804, when it was set in the pommel of the sword which Napoleon wore when he crowned himself as Emperor, at Notre Dame, in Paris. The Empress Marie Louise carried it off with other Crown jewels to Blois, after the Emperor Napoleon was banished to Elba ; but her father, the Emperor Francis of Austria, obtained it from her, and sent it to King Louis XVIII. That King, on Napoleon's return from Elba, fled with it to Ghent, but, after Waterloo, returned with it to Paris. In 1830 the diamond was used by King Charles X at his coronation, but since then it has not been employed at any ceremonial. Shortly after the fall of the Second Empire many of the Crown jewels of France were sold by the Republican Government for the benefit of the State. But no buyer was found for the Pitt, or Regent diamond, and it remains in safe custody at the Louvre.

The Pitt diamond weighs $136\frac{3}{4}$ carats, and is consequently more valuable than the Koh-i-noor, another Madras gem,[1] which was reduced in 1852 from 186 to $106\frac{1}{16}$ carats. Yet the latter—the "Mountain of Light,"—is held by experts to be "pre-eminently the Great Diamond of history and romance." As such it was—as I well remember—the centre of attraction, in a gilt cage, at the Great Exhibition of all Nations in London, in 1851. Then it reposed half a century, until it was chivalrously assigned by King Edward the Seventh—the Kaiser-i-Hind—for the adornment, at the Coronation, not of his own diadem, but for that of his beautiful Consort, the Queen of the hearts of all his subjects.[2] That was indeed

[1] *See* Appendix V.:—"The Pitt and Koh-i-noor Diamonds."

[2] I am indebted to Dr. Max Bauer's *Precious Stories* for the means of making the sketches, illustrative of the respective dimensions of the diamonds, that appear opposite to this page.



THE KOH-I-NOOR.

THE PITT.

Sketched by the Author. From Dr. Max Bauer's. "Precious Stones".

FAMOUS MADRAS DIAMONDS, (exact size).

the crowning distinction of the emblem of "the brightest jewel of the British Crown."

Her Majesty's Crown was composed (by Messrs. Carrington & Co., Regent Street, London) of diamonds set in silver. The base carried four large Maltese crosses and four large Fleurs-de-lis, from which eight arches extended towards the centre, carrying the Orb and Maltese cross closely set in brilliants. The centre of the largest cross contained the Koh-i-noor. The total number of diamonds used was 3,971. The weight of the Crown was 22 ozs. 15 dwts.

It is conjectured that the Koh-i-noor is the diamond on which Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the famous French traveller (who was born exactly three hundred years ago) conferred the name of "Great Mogul," and also that the gem had previously been called the Kollur diamond, because of its supposed "place of origin," which name was gradually corrupted into Koh-i-noor. Mr. V. Ball, of the Geological Survey of India, inclined strongly to this opinion in his *Diamonds, Coal, and Gold of India.* Kollur, it may be added, is on the right bank of the Kistna, near Chantapilly, in the Kistna District of the Presidency of Madras, and is about forty miles west of Purtial, where, according to general belief, the Pitt diamond was found.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNOR HARRISON

TOWARDS the close of the year 1710, Mr. Edward Harrison, Captain of the *Kent*, East Indiaman, was appointed President, or "Governour," of Fort St. George. On November 10 in that year a "petition" from him "tendering himself to serve the Company as their President of Fort St. George" was read at a meeting of the Directors, at the India House in Leadenhall Street, Mr. Edmund Harrison (his father, or uncle) being in the chair; and it was resolved that "this Court will, on Wednesday next, proceed to the choice of a President of Fort St. George, and to the setting the Councill there." Accordingly, on the 15th idem, the Court proceeded to "the choice of a President for Fort St. George, and the consideration of the Settlement of that Presidency, and the Petition of Captain Edward Harrison being again read, wherein he offers to serve the Company as President, and the Question being put by the Ballott, whether Captain Harrison shall be President on the usuall termes—it was carryed in the affirmative." Later on, the Court resolved that, "he be allowed to carry out two tons of Beer on the *Dartmouth*, freight free, it being for his own stores on the voyage," and that he be permitted "to carry out Wrought Plate to the value of £300, or thereabouts, for the use of his Table"; as well as "three pairs of Looking Glasses for his own private use." But Mr. Harrison, who had already seen a good deal of the Coromandel Coast, as well as other parts of the East, in his capacity as Commander of a merchantman, did not think that "two tons of Beer" would meet his requirements; and, having made a representation to that effect to the Court, it was resolved that "Governour Harrison be permitted to

ship Beer on the *Aurungzebe* as he desires." At another meeting, the Court was pleased to agree to his request that "his nephew, Charles Bourchier, now on his way from Ireland, may be entertained a Writer for the Fort, he being now seventeen years old, and writes and casts accounts well"; also that "Mr. Joseph Lopes may have liberty to send to the Fort on the *Dartmouth* five barrels of Snuff of the value of £110, each barrel weighing 220lbs., to be consigned to President Harrison, and Mr. Bernard Benyon on the usuall Termes," as well as "three chests of Rough Corrall, weight 449lbs., value £336." Moreover, Elihu Yale and Thomas Pitt, former Governors of Fort St. George, were accepted by the Court as "security for President Harrison in £4,000; and it was resolved that Covenants be filled up with the term of three years." On the same day it was determined that a warrant be made out to President Harrison for £100, "being so much thought fitt to be given him for Fresh Provisions for his voyage."

Meanwhile the Committee of Correspondence drew up Instructions for Mr. Harrison, and these having been submitted to the Court of Directors, were "read, amended, and adopted." These Instructions were stated to have been prepared for the guidance of "Edward Harrison, Esq., Governour of Fort St. George, and President of all the Affairs of the said Company under that Presidency. "Sir," they said,

The quality of your Employment you will see by the Commission which appoints you Governour and President. The Nature and Variety of it you are not to expect so much in these Instructions as in our Generall Letter now sent, and those sent by the then Courts ever since the first union of the two Companys, and the orders before that time, and which you will find among the Registers of the Old and United Company at Fort St. George which we recommend to your serious perusall consideration and observance unless any parts of them have been contrary to the United Companys orders, in which case you are free so far to reject them, and for your greater ease therein do you appoint such of our Servants there as you judge proper to draw out the substance of them in a margin, or in a paper apart, that you may thereby the more readily observe what is fittest for your reflexion and giving the necessary orders thereupon, and also enquire how far the directions therein have

been comply'd with, and wherein they have been omitted, or gone contrary to, taking care all such omissions or transgressions be remedy'd in time. But that wee may give you an epitome of what wee look upon to be more immediately under your care and direction, as wee have chosen you our President, being well persuaded of your ability, fidelity, and zeal for our Service, wee shall range the same under the Generall heads which wee make use of in sending our orders to all our Settlements abroad to the end that collecting every subject matter under its proper head wee may have the more entire view of all matters relating thereunto.

The Directors then expressed at some length their opinions and wishes about shipping, packing, home manufactures, imports, bullion, investments, trade "in General," and transactions with the "Countrey Government." These transactions had been "well managed by former Presidents, and therefore wee rest assured you will be fully informed what steps were trod in, and improve them as you may have opportunity." They were aware that "you know the Moors are a crafty People, and don't want opportunitys nor inclination to be informed of the temper character and conduct of so considerable a Person as the Governour of Fort St. George, and accordingly they will suit their behaviour. We expect you be a good Husband for us, and never give a Present to any of them but when absolutely necessary, and with a prospect of getting some priviledge for it." Then they referred to fortifications and buildings; the strength and discipline of the garrison of Fort St. George; precautions against the spies of the King of Golcondah; revenues; the mint; land and sea customs; the necessity that "justice be readily distributed to every one under your Government; the need of great watchfulness over conicoplys and dubashes; the practice of frugality in public expenditure; the repression of misbehaviour among factors and writers; and the deepening of the bar at the mouth of the river at St. David's. The concluding paragraphs of the Instructions were as follows:—

The well minding these instructions will take up a great deal of your time and thoughts, but as the station we have placed you in is considerable, and wherein you may increase your fortune with

honesty and reputation, and as you will see that by our Licence to Persons to send out Corrall and other goods to purchase dyamonds we have taken care that you shall have Two and a half per cent. on every consignment, so we hope these will be effectual inducements to you to promote our Interest to the utmost of your Power in all these Particulars, and whatever else shall offer for our Service within the Compass of your Station.

We can't conclude these Instructions without recommending it to your constant care that Piety and Vertue be promoted and encouraged amongst all your Inferiors in our Service, and all others under your Government, and to that end to see the Discipline of the Church of England be kept up that our Servantts whether in Civil Merchantile or Military employment do constantly attend on the Lord's Day at Divine Service at the Church, and at the other usuall time.

It will be observed that reference was made in the first sentence of the Instructions to the Commission whereby Mr. Harrison was constituted Governor and President. That document is as follows :—

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies to all to whom these Presents shall come send greeting Know Ye that wee the said Company reposing especiall trust and confidence in the Fidelity Prudence Justice and Circumspection of Edward Harrison Esqr have made constituted and ordained the said Edward Harrison Esqr to be President of and for all our affairs on the Coast of Choromandell and Orixa and of the Chingie and Moratta Countreys and of the Coast of Sumatra in the East Indies. And also to be our Commander-in-Chief of our Fort St. George and Town of Madraspatam and also of our Fort St. Davids at Tegnapatam and all the Territorys thereunto belonging and of all and singular the Forts Territorys and Jurisdictions thereof and of all the Forces which now are or hereafter may or shall be employed for the Service of the said United Company in the said Forts Towns and Places and to execute all and every the Powers and Authority's thereunto appertaining by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being and to continue in the exercise of the same during our and their pleasure and untill the contrary thereof shall be signified under the Seal of the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies or under the hands of Thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being And to the end the said Edward Harrison Esqr may be better enabled to order and manage all the Affairs of us the said Company Wee do by these Presents constitute and ordain Mr. Robert Raworth to be the Second of our Councill of Fort St. George next after our said President Edward Harrison Esqr and to be Deputy Governour of the said Fort. St. Davids Mr. Edward Fleetwood to be Third and next of our Councill after the

said Mr Robert Raworth Mr Thomas Frederick to be Fourth Mr Henry Davenport to be Fifth Mr William Martin to be Sixth Mr Edward Bulkley to be Seventh Mr. William Jennings to be Eighth Mr Bernard Benyon to be Ninth and Mr. William Warre to be Tenth and last of our said Councill of Fort St. George for governing and managing all the said Company's Affairs upon the Coast of Choromandell Orixa Chingie and Moratta Countreys and West Coast of Sumatra and governing the said Fort St. George and City of Madraspatam and Fort St. Davids at Tegnapatam and all other our Forts Factorys and Settlements within any the said Territorys And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor Edward Harrison Esqr and to our Councill aforenamed or the Major part of them whereof our said President to be always one (the whole Councill being only summon'd) full power and authority from time to time to rule and governe all and every our Factors and Servants under the said Presidency and all the Soldiers and Inhabitants of our said Fort St. George and City of Madraspatam and Fort at Tegnapatam and elsewhere within the places aforesaid to administer Lawfull Oaths as occasion shall require and to do and perform all such other Acts and Things and to use and exercise all such other Powers and Authoritys as the said President and Governour and Councill aforesaid shall from time to time receive under the hands of Thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being And wee the said United Company do hereby order and require all our Factors Servants Officers and Soldiers within the Limitts of the said Presidency and all the People and Inhabitants of our said Fort St George and City of Madraspatam or any other our Forts Places or Colonies within the said Presidency to conform submitt and yield due obedience unto the said Edward Harrison our President and Governour and his Councill accordingly And for as much as it is altogether necessary that in case of the Death or Removall of the said Edward Harrison our Presidency should be provided for the Defence and Government thereof Wee do therefore by these Presents Ordain and Appoint that in such case the said Robert Raworth shall immediately be and succeed in the Place and Charge of President and Governor of Fort St. George aforesaid And in Case of his Death or Removall the next in degree of Councill to succeed in the said Presidency and Government in as full and ample manner and with as large and ample Power Priviledges and Authoritys as are hereby granted unto the said Edward Harrison untill our further pleasure be known therein And we the said United Company do hereby revoke repeal annull and make void the Commission given and granted by the Court of Managers for the United Trade of the English Company Trading to the East Indies under the Seal of the said English Company Whereby Gullston Addison Esqr since Deceased was constituted and ordained President and severall persons therein named were Constituted and Ordained to be of the Councill of Fort St. George aforesaid which Commission was dated the One and Twentyeth Day of January in the Year of our Lord Stylo Angliœ One Thousand Seven Hundred

and Eight and all the Powers and Authoritys Given and Granted thereby or derived therefrom to any Person or Persons therein named or any others whatsoever In Witness whereof the said Company have Caused their Common Seal to be affixed to these Presents the Two and Twentieth Day of December in the Ninth Year of the Reigne of Her Most Exalted Majesty Anne by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith etc. and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ten.

This Commission was signed by Mr. Edmund Harrison as Chairman, Richard Cocke as Deputy Chairman, and by the following twelve members of the Court of Directors, Edward Gibbon, Jonathan Andrewes, Peter Godfrey, Nicholas Tourton, John Lyles, Frederick Herne, William Betts, William Dawsonne, John Gould, John Ward, Nathaniel Herne, Samuel Shepheard, and Henry Lyell. Moreover drafts of the "Covenants" to be entered into by President Harrison were "read and approv'd," and it was ordered that "the said Covenants be engross'd and executed the one part by President Harrison, and that the Committee of the Treasury be desired to affix the Company's Seal to the other part thereof." The Court next proceeded to the "Settlement of the Councills of Fort St. George and Fort St. David's," and ordered that "a list of the Company's servants on the Court be delivered to each of the Directors with the time they have been in India." Finally, on January 19, 1711, Mr. Harrison "took the oathes and leave of the Court," and was at the same time appointed Admiral on the Coast.

The Directors sent a copy of the Commission to "Our President and Councill of Fort St. George," by the *Dartmouth*, in which Mr. Harrison was to proceed to Madras. They also forwarded a despatch, which ran to 133 long paragraphs. This prolix communication was divided into the following sections: Introductory; Firstly, Concerning Shipping, sent out, and returned; Secondly, Concerning Goods sent from Europe; Thirdly, Touching Investments in India of Goods proper for Europe; Fourthly, Touching the Trade of India in General and therein any Transactions with the Country Government; Fifthly, As to our Fortifications, Buildings, and Revenues; Sixthly, Touching Factors and Writers, Officers

and Soldiers, and their Accounts; Seventhly, Touching the West Coast; Eighthly, Touching on Accounts. The Sixth section commenced with the statement that "Wee have for the Sake of Method deferred till now giving an Account of the Present Settlement of our Councill, and have for divers reasons, some of which are touch't upon in the foregoing parts of this Letter thought fitt to elect and establish the Councill at Fort St. George and Fort St. David's as follows." Then the names and grades of the several gentlemen who had been accepted for employment were given; after which the letter proceeded to say that, "Wee have resolved to send no Factors to the Coast this season; what Writers shall go thither you will have a list of in the Packet, sign'd by the Secretary."

The Directors stated that they had allowed "President Harrison to bring with him to Madrass Mr. Anthony Supply, and if you judge it for our Service wee consent that he be entertained one of the Surgeons when a vacancy happens." Also, "we understand Mr. Jeremy Harrison designs home for England, and therefore did not elect him afresh one of the Councill. If he should stay in India we leave it to you, if you judge it for our Service, to continue him yet in our Service." (It may be mentioned here that, according to an entry in the Proceedings of the Court of Directors on November 8, 1710, Mr. Jeremiah Harrison, Eighth in Council, Madras, was "entertained in India in the year 1700.") In the 133rd, and last paragraph of their despatch, the Directors advised the Government, that "the following persons having paid divers sums of English Money into our cash, wee have agreed to supply them with the value in Pieces of Eight at Fort St. George, out of the Treasure now laden on the *Dartmouth*, they running the Risco thereon, and you must accordingly deliver out of the said Treasure when received on shore." (The list commenced with the name of "President Harrison, Seventeen Thousand Six hundred forty eight ounces.") The despatch was signed by "Your very Loving Friends."

The *Dartmouth* made a fair voyage, and arrived at Madras

on July 11, 1711. The "Honourable Edward Harrison Esq." promptly landed, and produced his Commission, "which being read, the late President, William Fraser, Esq., did resign the chair, and deliver the Keys of the Fort to the said Edward Harrison, Esq." Thus, at the age of thirty-seven, did his reign commence. It proved uneventful; so much so, indeed, that, if it is true that "happy is the land which hath no history," then Madras was never more happy than when he presided over her destinies, and made money the while both for the Honourable Company, and for himself. It may be placed to his credit that he did nothing to prevent the land having rest; and also, that he never dreamt of crowding work into a quinquennium that might well be spread over half a century. But I need not enter into particulars about Madras history during his time. Suffice it to say that he escaped the fate that overtook Mr. Thomas Pitt, and some other predecessors of his, of being ignominiously recalled. He resigned office early in January 1717, after acquiring, as the *Gentleman's Magazine* (of 1736) suggestively remarks, "a large fortune with a very fair character," and he returned home, still in the enjoyment of the respect and confidence of the Court of Directors.

A few months after his arrival he took No. 14, St. James's Square, London, which had been occupied for some years by the Earl of Torrington, who died there. The house has a special interest for Lady Ampthill since, about a century after Mr. Harrison was its tenant, it was the residence of her great-grandfather, Mr. William Lygon, M.P. for Worcester, who was raised to the peerage as Baron Beauchamp of Powys, in 1806, and was advanced to be Viscount Elmley and Earl Beauchamp in 1815. Lord Beauchamp died there in 1816; and his widow, the Countess Beauchamp—Lady Ampthill's great-grandmother—continued to occupy it until her own death there in 1844. In the following year it was acquired by the London Library, and was lately rebuilt. During the few months that Mr. Harrison occupied it, he had as his neighbour in No. 13 the Marquis of Carmarthen, and as his neighbour in No. 15 the Marchioness of Gouvernet. It was

while he was living there that be became a member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and he was Deputy Chairman 1723–24, Chairman 1724–25, Deputy 1728–29, Chairman 1729–30, and Deputy from 1731 until his death. Having inherited from his relation, Mr. Edmund Harrison, the estate of Balls, now called Balls Park, close to Hertford—which had been held by his family for upwards of a century and a half—he was, in 1722, elected Member of Parliament for Hertford; but he resigned the seat in 1727, on his appointment to be joint Postmaster General with Mr. Edward Carteret. He retained that lucrative and notable position until his death, which occurred on March 28, 1732, from "imposthume in his head," after three days' illness, at his house in the General Post Office. He was then fifty-eight years of age. He bequeathed the whole of his property to his only child, Audrey, who, nine years previously, had married Lord Lynn, son of Viscount Townshend.

The bridegroom, aged twenty-three, had just been summoned to the House of Lords for his father's Barony of Lynn, so father and son had the rare gratification of simultaneously sitting in that Assembly. Eventually the father died, and the son became third Viscount Townshend. His wife was a wit, and was noted also for her eccentricity; indeed, she is supposed to have been the original of Lady Bellaston in *Tom Jones*, and of Lady Tempest in *Pompey the Little*. She survived her husband twelve years, and died in 1788. The following notice of her appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year:—

> After a very short illness, aged 85, Audrey, Lady-dowager, Viscountess Townshend, relict of the late Charles, Viscount Townshend, who died in 1764, and daughter and sole heir of Richard Harrison, Esq., of Balls, near Hertford, formerly Governor of Fort St. George, in the East Indies, and Postmaster General. She possessed her faculties in amazing perfection until the last. Her acuteness of observation, and brilliancy of expression, were as forcible and brilliant as at her earliest state in life, when she was esteemed, and her society cultivated by the first wits of her time. Her Ladyship's remains were deposited, on the 12th May, in her family vault at Hereford.

By her will, Lady Townshend appointed Lord Dudley, Lord John Townshend, General Vernon, and Mr. Woodcock to be

her executors and trustees. In addition to her estate at Balls, she bequeathed to her eldest son, George, the first Marquis Townshend (who was created a Marquis by his godfather, King George the Third), £15,000, and she left £6,000 to each of his children. She set apart several sums for charitable purposes, after various legacies had been paid to other relatives. She had one daughter, named Audrey after herself, and five sons, the youngest of whom, Roger, was killed in 1759 at Ticonderoga. She erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

The estate of Balls, now known as Balls Park, was lately purchased, after a long tenancy, by one of the most popular of the forty Knights Grand Commanders of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire—namely, Sir George Faudel-Phillips, Bart., who was Lord Mayor of London in 1897, the memorable year of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. He was as active, genial, hospitable and judicious a Chief Magistrate as the Metropolis ever had; and it fell to his lot during his busy year of office to set on foot the Indian Famine Relief Fund that proved so successful. Thus it was that the Queen, who was always greatly interested in whatever related to India, conferred a much-prized Indian decoration upon him. So also, in virtue of the visit that Her Majesty graciously paid him at the Mansion House, as well as in celebration of the sixtieth year of her wonderful reign, he was made a Baronet. He then had to re-arrange his coat of arms. He chose for the supporters of his shield, on the dexter side a Hindu, and on the sinister side a Mahomedan of India, both "habited ppr." In common with Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart., the veteran ex-Chief of the Bengal Medical Department, he selected as his appropriate motto—seeing how well he has lived up to it—the words: *Ne tentes aut perfice* (Accomplish if you attempt).

One day in March last year the rooms of Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, the auctioneers, of King Street, St. James's Square, were crowded, first with inspectors of, and subsequently with bidders for, numerous pictures belonging to the present Marquis Townshend, that were brought to

the hammer "with the sanction of the Court." The Marquis, a bachelor of eight and thirty, was born heir to rank rather than to wealth, and he has had to part with the chief adornments for many a long year of the reception rooms and staircases at the family seat, Raynham Hall, Norfolk, which he is unable to occupy, and declines to let. The Hall occupies the site of a "moated grange" of great antiquity; and was built, in 1630, by Sir Roger Townshend, the first Baronet, from designs by Sir Inigo Jones; and the Marquis not only inherited it, with the Baronetcy, not to speak of other titles, but became also, by right of birth, Lord of the Manor and sole landowner of East Raynham (or Raynham St. Mary), of South Raynham (or Raynham St. Martin), and of West Raynham (or Raynham St. Margaret), all in the Archdeaconry of Lynn. He is also Lord of the Manors of Hertford Priory and Amwell—names of which were once "familiar as household words" in the mouths of members of the Civil Service of the East India Company, since they were intimately associated with their youthful days at Haileybury. Amwell has this particular interest for Londoners, that it contains the source of the New River which has for many generations contributed largely to the water supply of the Metropolis. It has a tiny lake, with picturesque surroundings, including a small church on an upland, well laid out shrubberies, and an island, on which there is a stone, bearing the following quaint lines that were written by a Quaker resident of the place, named Scott, about a hundred and fifty years ago:—

Amwell, perpetual by thy stream
  Nor e'er thy spring be less,
Which thousands drink who never dream
  Whence flows the boon they bless.

Too often thus ungrateful man
  Blind and unconscious lives;
Enjoys kind Heaven's indulgent plan
  Nor thinks of Him who gives.

In the "good old times," ere home-grown produce was swamped by imported grain, or while farming was a profitable

Painter Unknown.

MR. EDWARD HARRISON.

Governor of Fort St. George, 1711-1717.

occupation, and while landowners, consequently, could safely demand potential rents, the lot of the peer who had inherited broad acres from ancestors remarkable for their land-hunger, was, so far as a fine income was concerned, a happy one. "But we have had our day; we have had our innings, and a long innings too; and we must now adapt ourselves, as well as we can, to the new conditions of our existence." So said one of them to me the other day. But it is none the less sad to hear of an ancestral mansion being despoiled of its heirlooms; and to see them hung for a few days on the walls of auction rooms, prior to being dispersed over the country, if not to the uttermost parts of the earth. In the case under notice, this drastic proceeding had to be resorted to in order to pay off encumbrances that had accumulated on Lord Townshend's estate, and thereby to "extinguish the terminable charges." So the Court of Chancery gave permission for the sale of two hundred out of the four hundred pictures at Raynham, on being assured that, in the opinion of an expert in such matters, the moiety would realise, with some furniture and plate, £20,000. Happily for the Marquis, the valuation proved too modest, as the pictures alone sold for £35,943, although many of them fetched insignificant prices. The whole of them were portraits, mostly family portraits, and fifty of them were whole-lengths. They included a few pictures by artists of eminence, like Lely, Kneller, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hogarth, Hoppner, and Romney, but a large proportion were unauthenticated. There was one small portrait, 30 ins. by 25 ins., by Romney, of Georgiana, wife of Lord John Townshend, a lady who died so recently as 1851, for which the artist received no more than 40 guineas in 1792, and which realized 3,150 guineas; and there was a small Gainsborough, which was discovered in a neglected garret at Raynham, that fetched 2,000 guineas. A few other pictures realized handsome prices, and assisted considerably in compensating the owner for the small amounts obtained for some of his largest paintings.

Among the latter was the portrait of the Marquis's ancestor, Mr. Edward Harrison, Governor of Madras. It was described

by the auctioneers as: "Full length, standing to the front; in black dress and cloak, grey stockings, powdered wig; rocky background, with distant view of a town; 93 ins. by 57½ ins." The artist is unknown. It was knocked down for only 94 guineas to Mr. Colnaghi.[1] For all that, it is a remarkable picture, in an admirable state of preservation; and it would prove an interesting addition to the collection of portraits of Governors, etc., in the Banqueting Hall, Madras. It depicts a genial-looking gentleman, with whom the world has gone well, wearing a black velvet suit of his period; and a glimpse is obtained of a town in the background, which may be intended for a town in India, though certainly not of Fort St. George.

This was not the only Harrison portrait in the collection which for many a long year has been preserved at Raynham after having been removed thither from Balls, near Hertford. There was a William Harrison in the time of King Charles I., who owned the property, and died in 1643 at Oxford, from injuries received from his horse, which was shot under him while he was in the service of the King. His portrait, a large one, 79 ins. by 50 ins., sold for no more than 63 guineas. His son, Charles, who inherited the estate, and who, doubtless, was named after "King Charles the Martyr," was knighted by King Charles II. in recognition of the loyal services rendered to the Crown by the family. And so the estate passed on to Mr. Edmund Harrison, Chairman of the East India Company in 1711, from whom, as has been said, the quondam Governor eventually inherited it.

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[1] It was purchased for M. le Comte Cahen d'Anvers, of Paris, who has obligingly enabled me to obtain the accompanying reproduction of it.

L. F. Abbott, Pinxit. Swan Electric Engraving Co. Sculpt.

Earl Macartney, K.B.

Governor firstly of Fort St George, then of Madras, 1781–1785.

CHAPTER IV

LORD MACARTNEY

Lord Macartney did not start in life, as did many of his successors in the Governorship of Madras, with the advantage of birth. He was no Clive, or Hobart, or Hay, or Harris, or Napier, or Grenville, or Bourke, or Lawley, or Russell. He was the son of an inconspicuous gentleman in the County of Antrim, and the grandson of an Irish Prebendary. Born in 1737, he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, and took his Master of Arts Degree when he was twenty-two. Then he went abroad to pick up that knowledge of foreign countries and foreign languages which was regarded in his day as essential to the crowning of the edifice of the education of an English, Scotch or Irish gentleman. He was good looking, and his manners were in harmony with his prepossessing appearance, so that he easily made and retained useful friendships. Thus he became a chum of Mr. Stephen Fox, an elder brother of the Charles James Fox of history; and this secured for him an introduction to his friend's father, Lord Holland. He had some idea, for a time, of entering Parliament; but, doubtless through the influence of Lord Holland and Charles James Fox, he was, at the early age of twenty-seven, appointed Envoy-Extraordinary to Russia. Before starting for St. Petersburg he was made a Knight Bachelor. He was charged with the duty of negotiating a Commercial Treaty with the Russian Government; and he showed so much tact and ability throughout the business, and succeeded so well in pleasing both the Russian and the English Governments, that he received from the former the order of the White Eagle, and from the latter various compliments that meant favours to follow.

At the age of thirty he was offered the high position of British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. But he declined the appointment, and preferred to enter Parliament as Member for Cockermouth. Shortly afterwards he married Lady Jane Stuart, a younger daughter of the Earl of Bute, the guide, philosopher and friend of the young King, George III. A year more passed, and he was made Chief Secretary for Ireland. This constituted him the leader of the Ministerial side of the Irish House of Commons; and, being an Irishman of the best type, he made himself very acceptable in that capacity. He retained the Chief Secretaryship three years, and then resigned, whereupon he was made a Knight of the Bath. In 1775, at the age of thirty-eight, he was made Captain General and Governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, grouped collectively as the Caribbee Islands; and, in the following year, he was raised to the Irish Peerage, as Baron Macartney of Lissanoure. He was at Grenada in 1779 when the Island was besieged by the French; and, after a gallant defence, he had to yield to superior force, and became a prisoner of war. As such he was carried to France, but he was soon exchanged; and returning home he re-entered Parliament, this time as Member for Beeralston. He held the seat for only a few months, as he was offered by the East India Company, and accepted, the Governorship of Fort St. George. He arrived at Madras on June 22, 1781, and on the following day assumed office as "President and Governor of Fort St. George." In February, 1785, he became the first "Governor of Madras," so entitled by Act of Parliament.

Almost immediately after his assumption of the office of Governor, Lord Macartney received an invitation from the Nabob of the Carnatic to honour him with a visit, and he promptly complied with it. Every mark of respect for his office was shown on his arrival at His Highness's palace, and he was probably thinking that his visit was merely one of agreeable ceremony, when the Nabob sprung upon him an offer for which he was unprepared. A brief account of what passed was given in the House of Commons on

April 16, 1806, three weeks before Lord Macartney's death, by Mr. W. Keene, in the course of a speech regarding a motion which had been made by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Philip Francis, for the production of accounts of all sums that had been paid to the creditors of the Nabob of that date in part payment of the debt which had accumulated to £4,200,000. Mr. Keene stated that he had been told by Lord Macartney that the Nabob invited the visit in order to present him with a sum of money equivalent to £30,000, and at the same time to make handsome money presents to the officers of his suite. Lord Macartney proceeded to inform Mr. Keene that he expressed his astonishment to the Nabob; declined to accept the money; and inquired what had prompted His Highness to offer it. The Nabob replied that it was quite a customary present to every new Governor, and had never before been refused. So he pressed Lord Macartney to reconsider his decision as, in His Highness's opinion, it was a proper compliment for him to pay to the Head of the Government, especially as since the capture of Pondicherry he had regarded the British rather than the French as his protectors. But Lord Macartney remained firm in his refusal, though he assured the Nabob that that refusal would not affect his discharge of his duty to render His Highness every support in his power.

As the accuracy of this statement was not challenged in Parliament or elsewhere it may be assumed that the episode really occurred. The Nabob's assertion that he had only followed precedent in making his offer, involved a reflection upon Lord Macartney's immediate predecessor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, whose son was living when Mr. Keene obtruded the incident on the notice of the House. Yet it was not repudiated by any member of the Rumbold family. The Nabob evidently was apprehensive that it might fare ill with himself if he failed to place the new Governor under a personal obligation. From his point of view his relations with an impeccable Governor might be the reverse of agreeable. He had only conformed to what he regarded as time-honoured custom, and, in his opinion, doubtless, a useful custom too for all

parties. What the members of Lord Macartney's suite thought of the denial to themselves of the benefits of a practice which had formerly been reaped by members of similar suites, if the Nabob was to be believed, is not mentioned. But whatever they thought or said, the action of the Governor was not kept secret. The Nabob may have mentioned it to subsequent visitors, or those around him may have done so. At any rate, the fact was soon noised abroad, and it caused some excitement in Madras, as it called in question, and threatened to put a stop to, an elasticity of principle by which officials had profited when approached by natives anxious to secure "Master's favour." Mr. Keene indeed declared, when concluding his anecdote, that the "generous integrity" of Lord Macartney "was everywhere reviled by the servants of the Company, and every pains was taken to slander him for venturing such an innovation upon the system they had so long established."

The servants of the Company in those times were not solely responsible for the prevailing laxity with respect to the acceptance of pecuniary considerations in disregard of regulations. The austere virtue of the Court of Directors led them periodically to preach against bribery and corruption, and to command all in their employ to become models of forbearance, and miracles of propriety. But they omitted to do one important thing, namely, to grant their servants emoluments on a scale sufficiently liberal to enable them with some facility to resist temptation. The lot of Europeans in India at the period could not, at the best, have been alluring. The conditions of temperature were much what they are now; but India was some six months, instead of a fortnight distant from the "old country"; there were no Hill Stations to go to; there was little opportunity for recreation; there was hardly any female society to promote refinement of manners. Moreover, India was more often than not the dumping-ground on which bad bargains at home were cast. And the rates of pay for all but officials of the highest rank were so small that they fell far short of being fair compensation for the discomforts and dangers incidental

to exile in a strange land. It was common knowledge at the time that men who went out to India on small, and never while there drew large salaries, returned home eventually, and, as opulent Nabobs of extravagant habits, excited envy in London, Bath, Cheltenham, and elsewhere. The practice of making money—honestly, if possible, but at any rate of making it, when opportunity offered—was the rule, and Lord Macartney was a brave man to set his face by his own example against it.

It is probable that Lord Macartney considered it incumbent upon him to inform the Court of Directors of the offer which was made to him by the Nabob, and which he had unhesitatingly declined. But if so, the despatch containing his communication has not been brought to light. There is, however, a letter extant from him to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Fort St. George, September 3, 1782, which shows the view he held the year after his arrival, both of propositions such as the Nabob made to him, and also of the Nabob. He was prompted to write this letter by the rumour which reached him that the Nabob had despatched a letter to the King, in which he indulged in severe reflections both on the Madras Government and their President. This letter, he was informed, was written by the Nabob's second son and Minister, Ameer-ul-Omrah, assisted by some "profligate Englishman" in Madras. As this letter was couched in terms calculated to stagger any one unacquainted with India, or the character of the Nabob's Durbar, he thought it due to himself, and to his Government, to take the earliest opportunity to explain the causes to which the Nabob's resentment might be attributed. He then said :—

The real truth is, that I have acted like an honest man and a good Englishman, and a Governor of Madras of that stamp is by no means such a one as they have been accustomed to, or ever wish to see again. If I had acted like many of my predecessors, and come into the Nabob's views, it would be no exaggeration to say that I might have fully answered any views I could possibly have formed of my own. It had been objected to me by the Nabob that I am a stranger ignorant of Oriental customs, unwilling to understand, or come into the ways of Oriental people, that I won't accept of presents, that I am unconciliating, etc., etc. After the space of time I have passed here, and the

intercourse I have had with the Durbar, and the gentry belonging to it, I must certainly be next to an idiot if I were ignorant of what is called the method of managing them. Nothing is more easy ; sacrifice the interests of the Company and of the creditors, or promise to do so ; engage for impossibilities Tanjore, and the succession of the second son ; and write lying paragraphs and encomiums upon the Nabob's disposition towards us, in the public letters to England ; do this, and I'll venture to say that a Governor of Madras, even in the present distress, would extract half a dozen lakhs of pagodas for himself, when he could not obtain a rupee for the Company. This was the mode in which the Durbar was managed by some politicians. But my system has been different, and if my predecessors had practised it, our affairs here would not now be in their present deplorable state. By observing a different conduct from theirs, I have drawn upon myself not only the most rancorous enmity of the Durbar, but the ill-will and opposition of every man in this part of the world of a different character from my own. Against these my only arms are steadiness and diligence, upright intentions, and disinterested conduct, and I have no doubt that they will at last carry me through with success. . . . I never will sacrifice, as has often been done here, the smallest particle of our real rights, and our true policy for any private emolument or advantage whatsoever. I have ventured to say this much, because well I know the artifices and engines which will be employed by disappointed avarice and blasted ambition to misrepresent and vilify my Government, but I trust to a good cause, and to that conduct which will never give my friends reason to be ashamed of supporting me. . . . I think I am now worth about £10,000 more than when I arrived here, and I do assure you that I might have been easily worth ten times that sum if I pleased, without any reproaches but those of my own conscience. What I have is the mere savings of the Company's allowance, for I never have accepted for my own benefit a pagoda, a diamond, or even a shawl. So help me, God ! This solemn declaration which I make to you, from one gentleman to another, will, I trust, be some antidote against the poisons intended from hence for my destruction at home.

The practice of accepting presents was then so common among officials in India, and the imputation that, in all probability, he had conformed to it, was so probable, that he considered it expedient to assure not only his wife, but also his banker of his having set his face against it. Writing from Madras to Lady Macartney as " My dearest Love," on March 27, 1782, nine months after his arrival, he mentioned that, as exchange was favourable, he had borrowed money in anticipation of his salary, and had remitted that money for his credit at " Thomas Coutts, Esq. and Co.'s," of London. He stated

that he "depended upon his salary alone, having never accepted a present since my arrival in this country. I have £15,000 per annum, and I save out of it what I can. Adieu My Love, Ever yours, M." In a letter of a later date to Mr. Coutts he remarked :—" I can assure you, upon my honour, that I have never accepted for my own benefit a present of any kind worth a dozen pagodas, but confined myself entirely to the Company's allowances, which are tolerably good." On the same occasion he requested Mr. Coutts to "furnish" Lady Macartney "without difficulty" with whatever money she may "want for her own occasions." Being very methodical and businesslike, he sent her a duplicate of his letter to Mr. Coutts, and observed :—" Whatever you may want for yourself you know you are always to command without scruple."

During the remaining period of his residence in Madras he acted strictly up to the high standard of official morality which he adopted on his arrival. But there was an impression in some quarters — of which he had knowledge —that, if the truth were known, it might be found that he was not as free from reproach as he claimed to be. And he had cause to imagine that, as soon as he turned his back on India, after resigning authority there, the tongues of men whose ill practices he had checked would wag at his expense. So he considered it advisable to nip mischief in the bud by swearing to the following affidavit before Mr. Philip Stowey, Mayor of Madras, on June 1, 1785, a few days before his embarkation :—

I, George, Lord Macartney, Governor and President of Fort St. George in the East Indies, do solemnly swear and declare that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, from the day of my arrival here, on the 22nd June, 1781, to this hour, I have never by myself, or by any other person for me, directly or indirectly, accepted or received for my own benefit, from any person or persons whomsoever, a present or presents of any kind, except two pipes of Madeira wine from two particular friends (one of whom never was in India, the other is at Bengal), a few bottles of Champagne and Burgundy, and some fruit and provisions of very trifling value : and I further swear and declare, that I have confined myself solely to the Hon'ble Company's allowances, which are 40,000 pagodas per annum, and the commission and consulage on coral which, during my Government, have produced on

an average 1,000 pagodas per annum : that I have never embezzled, or misappropriated to my own use, any part of the Company's monies or effects : and that I have not been engaged in any trade, traffic, or dealing of any kind, but strictly and *bona fide* observed all my covenants with the Honourable East India Company, and acted in all things for their honour and interest, to the best of my judgment and ability. So help me God !

He also made and signed, on the same day, a "Declaration" that, "during my four years' residence in India my fortune has been increased by the sum of 81,796 pagodas, from which ought to be deducted my expenses, and the price of my passage to Europe which I conceive can scarcely be estimated at less than 5,000 pagodas." At the exchange of the day, namely, eight shillings per pagoda, the net amount 76,796 pagodas was equal to about £30,000. "When the whole of this sum," he wrote to the Court of Directors, "is applied to the arrangement of my private affairs I shall possess a very small, if any, addition to my family inheritance."

On the departure from Madras to Bengal of Sir Eyre Coote (of whom more will be said in the next chapter), and again on that General's demise in Madras, the command of the troops in Madras devolved upon Major-General James Stuart, son of Andrew Stuart, of Torrance, in Lanarkshire, a member of the Scotch Bar, and Keeper of the Signet. He had seen much active service in Nova Scotia and the West Indies, before (in 1775) he entered the service of the Honourable East India Company as Second in Command of the forces on the Coromandel Coast. In the following year, in obedience to the orders of the majority of the Council, who had rebelled against Lord Pigot, he arrested that unfortunate Governor—an arrest which was soon followed by his Lordship's death, while still under restraint. Four months later, Sir Robert Fletcher, the Commander-in-Chief, died in Madras, and Colonel Stuart succeeded to the command, and became a Brigadier-General. But as soon as the Directors of the East India Company heard of the revolt against and the arrest of Lord Pigot, they took proceedings to vindicate their authority, and suspended General Stuart. He remained suspended four years, vainly endeavouring to be brought for trial before a Court Martial. At

length, however, he was honourably acquitted by the Directors of the charges alleged against him; was restored to the command of the forces; and was paid arrears of pay for the whole period of his suspension. He reverted to the position of Second in Command when Sir Eyre Coote arrived the first time from Bengal to conduct the operations against Hyder Ali, and he then saw much active service, especially at the battles of Porto Novo and Pollilore.

Lord Macartney had a poor opinion of General Stuart, and refused to grant him as free a hand as was allowed to Sir Eyre Coote. The General was at no pains to conceal his indignation, while at the same time he appeared to be very indisposed to carry out the Government's plan of campaign first against Tippoo Sultan, and, later, against the French near Pondicherry and Cuddalore. Lord Macartney was thus led to consider that, for various reasons which he stated to the Select Committee, and placed on record, the Government could not rely upon his obedience, or safely leave him longer in command at Cuddalore, or continue the "delegation" to him of the office of Commander-in-Chief from the late Sir Eyre Coote. He urged, therefore, that Major-General Bruce, who was also at Cuddalore, and who was known to be a good and gallant officer, should be empowered to assume the command of the Carnatic Army then in the field, and that General Stuart should be recalled to Fort St. George. This was agreed to by the Select Committee, and Mr. Sadleir, the second member of the Committee, and Mr. Staunton, the Governor's Private Secretary, were sent from Madras in the *Medea* frigate to Cuddalore, with instructions for both General Stuart and General Bruce, and with authority to negotiate with the Marquis de Bussy. General Stuart at first hesitated, and then complied with the orders of the Government, and returned to Madras; but instead of adopting a conciliatory, he assumed an insulting attitude towards Lord Macartney personally, and the Select Committee collectively. He wrote long Minutes, in which he alluded in offensive terms to the President, and declared that His Lordship was personally hostile to him. Lord Macartney in reply represented that he was mistaken;

that he disdained personalities; that if he had pronounced censure upon the General, he had done so without passion or prejudice, and simply in discharge of a painful public duty.

So matters went on until, on September 17, 1783, Lord Macartney presented a Minute to the Select Committee, in which he advised the dismissal of the General. He referred to a former Minute in which he had given some instances of the General's misconduct; and proceeded to say that since the General had returned to Madras, his "conduct indeed appears to have been that of a premeditated, wilful, repeated, and systematic disobedience, and that disobedience has been not only prejudicial, by its example, to the Company's regular government, and has a direct tendency to bring about the same subversion of such Government as that of which the General has been in a former instance"—the allusion here being to the General's complicity in the subversion of the authority of Lord Pigot—"a principal and active instrument, but such disobedience has been actually of material and lasting injury to the Company." General Stuart had "disobeyed the directions, and counteracted the intentions of the Government"; and, in defiance of orders, had "assumed independent command." The President, therefore, recommended that, "in virtue of the powers given to the Government in case of the disobedience of any of its military Officers, Major-General Stuart be immediately dismissed from the service," and that Sir John Burgoyne, as senior Officer in the King's Service upon the Coast, be directed to take the command of the forces. This Minute was read to the Select Committee in General Stuart's presence; and, the proposition having been adopted by the Committee, a Notification of his removal from the command of the forces was drafted, and published immediately in General Orders.

But General Stuart refused to admit that the Government had power to remove him from the command; he considered, he stated, that he owed it to His Majesty the King, and to the troops under his command, not to relinquish such command to any authority inferior to that of His Majesty from whom it was derived. Moreover, he exercised such an influence over Sir John Burgoyne that that comparatively young officer

declined, on second thoughts, to accept the command in his place. Then Lord Macartney, warned by the Pigot incident, perceived that it was incumbent upon him to take severe action without delay, and he ordered that the General should be placed under arrest. Accordingly, by his instructions, Mr. Staunton, his Private Secretary, Mr. Gomond, the Town Adjutant, and Lieutenant Cooke proceeded, with a party of sixty-six sepoys, to the General's "garden house," to seize, and convey him under close arrest to the Fort.

The General was kept under arrest in the Fort for a few days until a passage was obtained for him in a ship that was about to leave for England. He was then required to embark. He reached England safely, and waited in London as patiently as he could, until the arrival there, in January 1786, of Lord Macartney from Madras. On the following day the General wrote a note, and intimated his intention to send a challenge. But no further action was taken until one night in May, when Lord Macartney, on returning from the Opera, found a note at his house in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, from Colonel Gordon, presenting his compliments, and saying that he wished to see his Lordship at Charing Cross when convenient.

Lord Macartney called on the following day, and received from the Colonel a letter from General Stuart in which the latter demanded "immediate satisfaction." He thereupon invited Colonel Fullarton to act as his second, and the two seconds soon arranged a place of meeting twenty minutes' drive from outside Tyburn turnpike, near Kensington, at the early hour of half-past four on the morning of June 8. Accordingly the ex-Commander-in-Chief and the ex-Governor met at the place, and at the time agreed upon. The General was a one-legged man, the other leg having been shot off at the battle of Pollilore, after the same ball had killed another officer. He was, therefore, placed with his back against a tree. The seconds then measured twelve paces in front of him, and Lord Macartney took up his position at the further end of that distance.

The seconds having delivered a loaded pistol to each gentleman, the General remarked to Lord Macartney that he ques-

tioned whether, as he was short-sighted, he would be able to see him. Lord Macartney replied that he could see him perfectly well. The General now told Lord Macartney that his pistol was not cocked. The latter thanked him, and cocked the weapon. The signal was given, and the combatants fired almost simultaneously. The General's bullet struck Lord Macartney on the right shoulder, and lodged there, whereupon the seconds immediately intervened, and said that honour was satisfied. But the General would not hear of this. There had been "no satisfaction" to him, he declared, and if another discharge of pistols could not be allowed, "then I must defer it to another occasion." To which Lord Macartney replied :—"If that is the case, we had better proceed now. I am here in consequence of a message from General Stuart, who called upon me to give him satisfaction in my private capacity for offence taken at my public conduct, and to evince that personal safety is no consideration with me. I have nothing personal. The General may proceed as he thinks best." To which the General replied that he resented Lord Macartney's personal conduct. He still wished to proceed with the duel; but the seconds were firm, and would not allow it, so the General left the ground with his second. The two surgeons in attendance took Lord Macartney's coat off, bound up the wound, and accompanied him back to his house. On calmer consideration the General took no further action in the matter. The seconds drew up a memorandum in which they stated that they "cannot help expressing the opinion that no two persons ever met on a similar occasion who showed more firmness and composure; and they are happy to add that the ball is extracted, and that there is every reason to hope for Lord Macartney's recovery." That hope was fulfilled, for Lord Macartney was soon well again. The General was appointed Colonel of the 31st Foot in 1792, and died a year later.

It has been stated that on the suspension of General Stuart the Government communicated with Sir John Burgoyne (in command of H.M.'s 23rd Dragoons, which he had brought from England to the Mount), and informed him that, in the exercise of their authority, they had selected him, as the senior

Officer on the Coast—he was but thirty-five years of age—to officiate until further orders as Commander-in-Chief. He proceeded to act upon this intimation; but a few hours later he called upon General Stuart, in the quarters assigned to that officer, while under arrest, in Fort St. George; and the result of that visit was that he wrote to the Government to say that, as General Stuart informed him that he insisted upon retaining the command of the King's troops, and refused to admit that the Government had the requisite power to remove him therefrom, he, Sir John Burgoyne, considered he was under an obligation to obey the orders of the General, as his superior officer. Accordingly, he begged to decline to assume the command until the General relinquished it.

As the General was embarked under compulsion a few days later, there was then no longer reason to argue that the command was not vacant. But now the Government resolved to pass over Sir John Burgoyne, and to confer the command upon Colonel Lang, an Officer junior to himself, yet the senior Infantry Officer in the service of the Company on the Coast. Sir John Burgoyne remonstrated against his supersession by a junior, and a Company's Officer; and the King's Officers in Madras sympathized with him. But the Government said that, when General Stuart was removed from the command they had shown Sir John Burgoyne the consideration that was due to him personally, and in virtue of his military rank, yet he had declined to carry out the wishes of the Government, and had supported the General in his attempt to set the Government at defiance. Consequently, the Government felt it necessary to entrust the command to an officer on whom they could place more reliance than himself. This decision irritated Sir John Burgoyne to such an extent that, the day after its receipt, he "withdrew," as it is stated, "from the Army," and applied to the Admiral for "protection." But the Admiral refused to take the responsibility of receiving him under the circumstances on board any vessel in the Roads under his command. So Sir John Burgoyne, crestfallen, had to return to his quarters on shore. On the following morning he wrote to Lord Macartney, frankly ad-

mitted that he had left his post without authority, to seek protection in the manner described, and had thereby rendered himself liable to arrest previous to the holding of an inquiry. But he begged to say that as he was ready to surrender at once he hoped he might be spared the indignity of arrest by an armed force. The Government replied that they would not place him under restraint unless he should by some future act force them to adopt so painful a measure.

This leniency did not have the desired effect of making Sir John Burgoyne more discreet, for, four months after his supersession, he addressed a sharp letter to Lord Macartney individually, in which he complained that the Governor had taken no notice of a request which he had made in two previous communications for "batta," or compensation for exceptional expenditure, to the officers of his Regiment. He alluded to the poor reception which the Regiment had had on its arrival in Madras, and told Lord Macartney that it was "the first in point of discipline, both as to Officers and men, that ever came to defend the India Company's Settlements." He added:—"The Officers, my Lord, are not adventurers. Many of them were high in the King's Service, and condescended for the hope of honourable treatment to take Commissions in a young Regiment when they might have had the same in an old one at home. We are not come as plunderers, but as soldiers, as jealous of our Right as of our Honour." Lord Macartney, however, declined to be dictated to, and he was supported in the action he took by his Civilian colleagues. The batta, Sir John Burgoyne was informed, had never been promised, and could not be claimed as of right; and if, for want of it, the officers were, as they alleged in a memorial which he had forwarded on their behalf, inconvenienced at the Mount, the Government were prepared to sanction the removal of the Regiment to the Luz, or Poonamallee.

This did not tend to mollify Sir John Burgoyne. One thing led to another until, on December 31, the Government felt it necessary to take his conduct into consideration. They did so ostensibly on two grounds; firstly, that he had summoned

Colonel Straubenzee and two Captains of the 52nd Regiment of Foot at Poonamallee to attend a Court-Martial in the first week in January, although he was aware that those officers had received the orders of the Government to remain at Poonamallee fort; and, secondly, because he had left the Army, on the occasion referred to, without leave. Accordingly, the Government resolved that it was necessary for the Public Service that he should be put under arrest. So they directed Mr. George Wasey, the Acting Secretary, to communicate their decision to him in these terms:—

The whole tenor of your proceedings since their General Order of the 17th September last had appeared to the Select Committee so extraordinary, that they did not think it prudent after that to give their sanction to any military authority which you might think fit to assume. As long as it did no mischief, and the public service was not materially impeded, they declined taking notice of it; but now, Sir, it becomes absolutely unavoidable. It is their duty to provide for the safety of the common weal; and to prevent it from suffering any detriment; they, therefore, cannot permit that you should assume and exercise a power of calling away at your pleasure, without the sanction of Government, such Officers as have been specially entrusted by it with commands. If the shadow of such authority in you, or any other Officer, were allowed, the Company would be deprived of the benefit of His Majesty's troops, which were sent out here for their service, at an immense expense, and might suffer the most serious injury where essential assistance was expected.

Sir John Burgoyne replied, not to the Government, but to Lord Macartney, on the following (New Year's) day. He commenced by challenging the ability of the Government to place him under arrest, because he could find no power vested in them by the Articles of War that warranted their assumption of such authority in regard to any of His Majesty's Officers. He asserted, therefore, that the Government were unable to bring him to a General Court-Martial, which, "by the laws of the land, I have a right to in eight days after my being first arrested." But, bearing in mind that General Stuart "was insulted in his own house by an armed force, sufficiently proves to me that resistance, if I had made any, would have been in vain." So he accepted the notice of arrest contained in the Government's Order, which was delivered to him by

Colonel Malcolm, Adjutant-General to the Company's Forces. He could not, however, refrain from alluding to one pretext employed by the Government for his arrest. "It is," he said, "a pretext I should have thought too poor, too pitiful, and too ridiculous even for the Select Committee of Fort St. George to adopt." The Government had declared that their "conduct will ever be guided by moderation, consistency, and the public good." Sir John Burgoyne agreed to the consistency:

for there is hardly one person whose misfortune it has been to have any transactions with you since the Right Hon'ble the President's arrival, who has not had reason to curse the hour his ill stars doomed him to have any connections with His Lordship. His Highness the Nabob, the Supreme Board, the late gallant and much revered Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Edward Hughes, General Stuart, myself, many others, both in public and private stations, are proofs undeniable that your consistency is one uniform and general plan of tyranny and oppression.

Then, as to the Government's "moderation," Sir John Burgoyne was sorry that it was not in his power to quote more than one instance, which was that of General Stuart, the late Commander-in-Chief:—

An old soldier, who had lost a limb in your service, after having been vilified in a letter so indecent that Mons. de Bussy, into whose hands a copy of it fell, could not help (though an enemy in arms at that time to General Stuart), expressing his indignation at the insult offered to the whole profession of arms; him, I say, you ordered home in a vessel, generally thought by everybody so unfit for the long voyage that the General himself, after he was on board, wrote me a letter to say it must be a miracle that could preserve his life, even if the ship arrived safe, the accommodations were so bad, and so unfit for a person in his helpless situation.

In conclusion, Sir John Burgoyne warned Lord Macartney that "the time must come, and you know it, when ample justice must be done me, and when, divested of the plumes of Government, you must answer for your conduct."

Having relieved his feelings in this intemperate and insubordinate fashion, the Baronet left Madras, and proceeded to Pondicherry (then a British possession), for change of air. How long he remained there does not appear in the

records. It was fortunate for him that Lord Macartney was a forbearing kind of man. In illustration of that characteristic of his, it is worth while quoting the following remarks from a letter that he wrote on one occasion, when Sir Eyre Coote was more trying than usual, to Mr. Macpherson, the colleague of Warren Hastings and of Coote in the Bengal Council :—

> I never retort any sharp expression which may occur in his letters. In fact I court him like a mistress, and humour him like a child ; but with all this I have a most sincere regard for him, and honour him highly. But I am truly grieved at heart to see a man of his military reputation, at his time of life, made miserable by those who ought to make him happy, and from a great public character worked into the little instrument of private malignity and disappointed avarice. All, however, has been, and shall be, good humour and good breeding on my part.

It may be assumed, therefore, that, for all his irregular conduct, Sir John Burgoyne, who was relatively a young man, was let down lightly by Lord Macartney. Yet soon after Lord Macartney's departure, and while Mr. Davidson was acting as Governor, he again incurred the displeasure of the Government, and he was then not only placed under arrest, but was brought before a Court-Martial, which sat during June and July, 1785. In the end he was acquitted of the charges alleged against him. Two months later, while he was still in Madras, he fell ill, and he died on September 23, three days after completing his thirty-ninth year.

There was yet another gentleman in Madras with whom Lord Macartney was brought into hostile relations—namely, Mr. James Sadleir, the third Member of his Council. It was characteristic of Lord Macartney to be solicitous for the welfare of men of good character and high attainments who worked with him. Mr. Hudleston—the first member of a Cumberland family that was officially connected with Madras for upwards of a century—was then Military Secretary to Government ; and it appeared to Lord Macartney, after he had seen much of him, that the time had arrived when it would be becoming of the Government to mark their appreciation of the manner in which he discharged his duties

by raising his salary. Thereupon he broached the matter to his colleagues, and they all, it seemed to him, expressed approval of the step that he suggested. But, when he brought the subject up a second time, in view to confirmation, Mr. Sadleir took objection to it. His colleagues thereupon endeavoured to call to that gentleman's recollection that, on the previous occasion when the topic was alluded to, he had concurred with them in thinking that the advance might very well be made. But he denied having ever expressed such approval; and he made his denial in so positive and exasperating a manner that the Governor lost his temper, and declared that he had told a lie.

This was, to say the least, unparliamentary; and, to make matters worse, Lord Macartney directed that the incident should be recorded in the Minutes of Consultations. He subsequently explained to the Court of Directors that he had followed this course "because I never will attempt to conceal from you anything however important which the meanest member of the community might wish to be laid before you." He further observed that "every gentleman of feeling knows that there is a species of audacious contradiction which can only be stopped by a particular mode of expression. In the case now alluded to that expression, although arising from absolute necessity, was no sooner used but was apologised for to the Committee." But the military friends of Mr. Sadleir were not slow to inform him that in their judgment he owed it to himself, as a man of honour, to require Lord Macartney to give him, as a gentleman, private satisfaction for the offensive expression that he had not only employed, but had placed on record. He deferred to their opinion, and accepted the offer that was made by Major Grattan, one of those friends, to act as his second. The Major lost no time about waiting upon the Governor, and stating what Mr. Sadleir demanded. Lord Macartney expressed his readiness to comply with the demand, and referred his visitor to Mr. Davidson, the first Civilian Member of Council, who would act on his behalf. Thereupon the two seconds had an interview, and arranged that the meeting should take

place at seven o'clock the following morning, September 24, but whether the spot chosen was in some retired nook near the walls, inside the Fort, as seems possible, or in the open on the Island, I have not discovered.

Accordingly, the next morning Lord Macartney, accompanied by Mr. Davidson, who brought pistols already loaded with him, reached the rendezvous at half-past six, and found Mr. Sadleir and Major Grattan already there. The Major had brought unloaded pistols with him, and he now proceeded to load them. The two seconds then stepped out ten paces, and marked the spots on which the combatants were to stand. Mr. Davidson availed himself of this opportunity to ask the Major if he did not think that after each gentleman had fired one shot they, as the seconds, might endeavour to bring the affair to a conclusion by inviting the Governor to offer an apology to Mr. Sadleir. Major Grattan expressed his willingness to do this. The principals were now put into their places. Then the seconds tossed for first fire, and the chance falling to Mr. Sadleir, he immediately discharged his pistol, and his bullet struck Lord Macartney in the left side, though the fact that it had taken effect was not immediately observed by Mr. Sadleir, nor by the seconds. Lord Macartney now fired, but missed. He then said :—" Go on Mr. Sadleir." But Mr. Davidson then observed from the blood exuding on Lord Macartney's waistcoat that he was wounded, and he called the Major's attention to the fact. The latter stepped forward, and invited Lord Macartney to make the desired reparation to Mr. Sadleir for the reflection which he had cast on that gentleman's honour. But Lord Macartney declined to do so. " I came here," he said, " to give satisfaction to Mr. Sadleir, and I am still ready to do so."

It now, however, became necessary to open his waistcoat to ascertain the nature of the wound, and this had no sooner been done than Major Grattan expressed the opinion that, in Lord Macartney's wounded condition, Mr. Sadleir might be satisfied, and that under such circumstances the matter should not be pursued any further. Mr. Sadleir accepted the decision of his second, and, declaring that he was satisfied, left the

ground. A formal statement of the facts of the duel was drawn up by the seconds the following morning, at a meeting held for the purpose, at which Colonel Fullarton and Colonel Dalrymple were present, and it was "mutually admitted to be just and true, and was accordingly subscribed to by" them. Mr. Davidson appended this memorandum:—"Concerning the proposition mentioned by Mr. Davidson to Major Grattan in the above narrative of an interference, and reference to the principals after an exchange of pistols, Mr. Davidson declares the proposal came from himself. Lord Macartney not having given Mr. Davidson any instructions whatever relative to the meeting, Mr. Davidson made the proposal with a view of terminating the affair as soon as possible."

Owing to the want of newspapers at that period in India, and to the omission of such papers as then existed in London to obtain news of what passed in the East, nothing apparently was heard in England about the duel—unless Lord Macartney in his conscientious way informed the Court of Directors about it—until November 1807, eighteen months after his death. Then it was that Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Barrow, F.R.S., a member of his Staff both in China and the Cape, published "Some Account" of his "Public Life," and a selection from his "Unpublished Writings," in which he gave an account of the incident based doubtless (as he did not go to Madras) on the information which he gathered from Lord Macartney. Within a few days a correspondent, writing, over the pseudonym of "Æquitas," to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, said:—

Mr. Barrow, in his *Life of Lord Macartney*, speaks of a Mr. James Sadleir in terms which I am inclined to think he by no means merited; and, among other blemishes of mind, Lord M.'s biographer accuses him of "timidity." It, however, puzzles me greatly to determine whether the epithet is bestowed by ignorance or by malignity; but, from some certain circumstances, I am induced to ascribe it to the latter; and under that opinion I feel desirous to inform the public of the following facts:—During a warm debate in Council at Fort St. George, the Governor, Lord Macartney, gave the lie direct to a gentleman who did not coincide with him in opinion. The gentleman requested that Lord M. would waive all advantages from his situation, and give him private satisfaction; they met, and the injured gentleman shot the Governor, either in the shoulder or in the arm, I

forget which ; and this gentleman was the " *timid* Mr. James Sadleir " of Mr. Barrow, at that time third in Council at Madras ! The anecdote I relate from memory, and pledge my honour to the substance, though without referring to my journal, I cannot precisely state all the particulars. The reading world may, however, hereby discover that a Biographer does not always content himself with giving a garbled account of the life of a Friend, but uses, occasionally, that opportunity to asperse the character of a person he dislikes.

The book was published by Thomas Cadell of the Strand, London, who was not related to Robert Cadell, of Cockenzie, the famous publisher in Edinburgh, who was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott, and the grand-uncle of the late General Sir Robert Cadell, K.C.B., the gallant Royal (formerly Madras) Artillery Officer, and delightful *raconteur*, who not so long ago was a conspicuous figure in Madras. The British Museum has a handsome copy of it that once belonged to George III., whose monogram, under a Royal crown, surmounted by the Roman figures " III." is stamped in gold on the calf cover. This copy was presented to the nation by George IV. I have examined it to see if Sir John Barrow did attribute " timidity " to Mr. Sadleir in face of the facts regarding that gentleman's bearing at the duel, and I have failed to find justification for the remonstrance of the critic. It is true that Sir John Barrow described Mr. Sadleir as " a fickle, intemperate, and unaccommodating man," who contradicted the " assertion of his colleagues in a most positive and provoking manner," but he offered no other remarks about him. As to Lord Macartney's uncharacteristic loss of temper, and consequent indiscretion, he observed " that there are certain situations in which the greatest command of temper cannot prevent the escape of a hasty expression that, in cooler moments, the person who uttered it will rarely attempt to justify, unless the provocation happens to be of a nature not to be excused." He added that " this was the only dispute, and almost the only difference of opinion, that Lord Macartney had to encounter in the Select Committee in the whole course of his difficult Government."

Lord Macartney resigned the Governorship of Madras in

June 1785, and proceeded for Calcutta in the hope of bringing Sir John Macpherson, the provisional Governor-General—for Warren Hastings had just left for England—and his Council round to his way of thinking about affairs in Mysore and the Carnatic. While he was thus fruitlessly engaged, he not only fell seriously ill, but he received from the Court of Directors a definite offer of the Governor-Generalship. His relations with Warren Hastings had been somewhat strained, and the latter had left many friends in Bengal who were by no means disposed to modify their opinions to make them harmonize with those of Fort St. George. Moreover, Lord Macartney had stuck so closely to work in Madras; had devoted himself so strenuously to the task of controlling Nabobs and Rajahs, as well as his own subordinates, most of whom were intent primarily on feathering their nests; had had so little change of air; and had been so subject to gout (which eventually carried him off), and rheumatism, that he felt in no humour to avail himself of the opportunity to become President of the Supreme Government. So, as soon as his health allowed, he embarked for England, and he arrived in London on January the 9th, 1786, after five years' absence.

On the following day, as has been said, General Stuart commenced the correspondence which led to the hostile encounter above referred to. But on the 13th January, or four days after his arrival, Lord Macartney met the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, at the India House, and explained why it was that he had not accepted the offer made to him by the Court of Directors. He represented that his health had been so much impaired by the climate of, and the cares of office in Madras, that he felt it was essential that he should refrain from entering upon a new sphere of public duty in India until he had recovered strength by a sea voyage and prolonged rest. Moreover, he entertained decided views about the necessity of subordinating the military to the civil authority in India, and regarding other administrative matters, on which he would be glad to be favoured with the opinions of the Court. If the Court were prepared to support his views, then he, on

his part, would probably be willing to accept the brilliant opportunity for public usefulness which they had presented to him.

Eleven days later his friend, Mr. Charles James Fox, the leader of the Opposition, when speaking in the House of Commons on the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament, referred to the affairs of India, and declared that Lord Macartney had acted throughout the time he was there upon the most upright principles, and had returned home with perfectly clean hands. Mr. Fox eulogized his zeal, talent, integrity, and disinterestedness, and concluded by saying that he was expressing no more than the public estimate of his character. Mr. Pitt, in the course of his reply to Mr. Fox's speech, remarked that, although in regard to the assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic Lord Macartney may not have acted quite prudently, with that exception his conduct in Madras entitled him to the highest applause that words could possibly bestow. Meanwhile, the Court of Directors had forwarded to the Board of Control—of which Mr. Henry Dundas, though not yet the President, was the moving spirit—a minute of the conversation that had passed between Lord Macartney and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, on the 13th; and, on the 21st February, Mr. Dundas wrote to Lord Macartney, and asked him to meet Mr. Pitt and himself on the following morning at the office of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

Lord Macartney accordingly presented himself at the Board's Office on the 21st February, and received from the Prime Minister the assurance that, should he determine to return to India as Governor-General, he might depend upon his—Mr. Pitt's—decided countenance and support. In the course of his reply to this Lord Macartney stated that it seemed to him to be necessary for his own reputation and for the public services that he should receive, before his departure, such a mark of Royal favour as would unequivocally show the world that he was going out with the combined support of the Crown, the Ministry, and the Company. He had passed twenty-two years of his life in public business, and he

aspired to receive the King's favour as a reward for past, and an encouragement to future services. At the same time he begged Mr. Pitt to understand that he felt no eagerness about the appointment, for its acceptance would involve his banishment once again from his country and his family, and would commit him to a task of infinite difficulty, responsibility, and risk. Mr. Pitt at once showed that it did not seem to him expedient to advise the King to confer on Lord Macartney the British peerage which the latter was desirous of receiving; and three days later the Governor-Generalship was offered to, and accepted by Earl Cornwallis.

Mr. Dundas subsequently gave a friend a written explanation of the refusal of Mr. Pitt to entertain Lord Macartney's proposal. He said:—

> We thought it a bad precedent to establish by our authority that so high and important a situation should not of itself be thought sufficiently exalted to invite the first persons in the Kingdom to look up to it as the object of their ambition. It appeared to us a most proper road to the acquisition of an hereditary honour, as a reward for services actually performed, and Lord Macartney would certainly have obtained it after his return to India; but we could not listen to the idea of a grant of a peerage being preliminary to the appointment of a Governor-General of India. The stand on our part became the more necessary because the Resolution was then taken of not confining the high situation in India to the servants of the Company, as it was anxiously wished that men of rank and consideration in their own country should become candidates for the first and most important situation under His Majesty; and it would take from the grace and character of future appointments, if such men were to be induced to accept the situation by the allurement of a British peerage as a necessary requisite previous to acceptance. If that was recognized candidates might offer merely to accomplish that object, and they would return again as soon as they had landed in India, having secured the favourite object they had in view.

Mr. Dundas then alluded to objections to the selection of Lord Macartney having been raised not only by "the great body of the Directors and Proprietors of the East India Company," but also by the partisans of Mr. Warren Hastings and Sir John Macpherson. "When, therefore," he continued, "against such an accumulation of discontent and opposition,

Mr. Pitt was induced by me to concur in the return of Lord Macartney to India, as Governor-General, it was not unnatural that both of us should have felt hurt that he did not rather repose his future fortunes in our hands than make it a subject of a *sine quâ non* preliminary." These arguments are more plausible than convincing. Lord Macartney—an Irish Peer—had put in, as he stated, many years of arduous service for the State both at home and abroad, and it would have been a small matter to have conceded to him the honour of admission to the English peerage, by way of emphasizing the fact that he enjoyed the confidence of the King's Government. While he was in India the difference in his status between being an Irish and an English Peer would have been of small account to any one but himself. But the austerity which caused none but an Irish peerage to be conferred on Robert Clive ; which refused a peerage of any description to Warren Hastings ; and that limited the gratification of the Earl of Mornington's ambition to promotion to an Irish Marquisate and an English Barony, induced Mr. Pitt, on the advice, seemingly, of Mr. Dundas, to decline to comply with Lord Macartney's very moderate stipulation. Yet Mr. Dundas was not himself proof against "the allurement of a British peerage," for he eventually secured the titles of Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira, though not previous to his acceptance of office.

As a matter of fact, however, Lord Macartney was not at all keen about going back to India. He had had trouble enough during the four years that he was Governor of Madras ; and he foresaw that were he to become Governor-General he would, in all probability, have more difficult problems to face, and more prejudices to soothe, than ever. But he was ready to sacrifice his private feelings to public duty, if called upon to do so by the King's Government. It was not much, after all, that he asked of that Government as a token of its appreciation. So when, notwithstanding his many services "actually performed," that little was rather churlishly refused, and the negotiation with Mr. Pitt fell through, he felt relieved rather than wronged. It is said that as soon as he heard of the selection of Lord Cornwallis, he

hurried to a house where a large party was being held, and at which Lady Macartney was present, took out a card from his pocket, and wrote in pencil upon the back of it :—" I am the happiest man in England at this hour. Lord Cornwallis, I hear, is Governor-General of India." He passed the card on to his wife, and she treasured it to the end of her long life.

The Court of Directors were not slow in marking their appreciation of Lord Macartney's services in Madras, as soon as it had been determined that he was not to return to India. On April 12, 1786, they recorded the following Resolutions :—

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Court that the Right Honourable George, Lord Macartney, whilst he was Governor of Madras, upon all occasions manifested the greatest zeal in support of the interest of this Company, and that he faithfully discharged his duty as such, more especially by adhering strictly to his covenants and engagements with the Company, in declining to accept any presents from the Country Powers, or from any person whatever in India; that the example set by his Lordship, in giving in upon oath a statement of his property gained in the Company's Service, was highly meritorious, inasmuch as such conduct was afterwards sanctioned by an Act of the Legislature; and by which statement it appears, that his Lordship's fortune had been very moderately increased during his residence in India, and that the same arose solely from the savings he made from his salary and allowances authorised by this Court.

Resolved, That it is incumbent upon this Court to show their fullest approbation of such upright and disinterested conduct, in the hope that so laudable an example will be followed by their servants in India; and, moreover, that it is fitting that some compensation should be made to his Lordship, and that it will be a proper reward for such distinguished service, and such integrity, to grant his Lordship an annuity of fifteen hundred pounds during the term of his natural life.

As Lord Macartney lived for twenty years after the annuity was granted he received in all £30,000, or the equivalent of the very sum that he had the moral courage to decline to accept from the Nabob. Previous to this the Directors granted an annuity of £500 to Mr. George Staunton, his Secretary, and successfully exerted their influence to obtain for him an Irish baronetcy.

This put an end to Lord Macartney's views in connexion with India; so, with a light heart, he now indulged in a spell of well-earned rest from official labour. He regained his former popularity as a member of Society. His "graceful person, his great suavity of manner, his conciliatory disposition, his winning address," made friends for him everywhere. Eventually he was employed for two years, and rendered important service, as British Ambassador in China; and yet later he did excellent work as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and made a good impression on the Boers. So it came to pass that he was created Earl Macartney and Viscount Deroocle, in the peerage of Ireland, and also Baron Macartney, of Parkhurst, Kent, in the peerage of England.

After his return from the Cape, Lord Macartney took a house in Curzon Street, Mayfair, London, as well as a long lease of Corney House, Chiswick. The latter was built by Sir William Russell, father of the first Earl of Bedford, who had the honour of entertaining Queen Elizabeth there. Like Dr. Johnson, Hogarth, Dr. Burney, Fanny Burney, and other notable persons, Lord and Lady Macartney were very partial to Chiswick, and it was there that the former succumbed to his old enemy, gout, in March 1806, aged sixty-nine. He was buried near the grave of Hogarth, the great painter, in "God's acre," around the parish church (supposed to have been built about six hundred years ago) of Chiswick, which is about two miles distant from the church at Mortlake where Sir Philip Francis rests.

The monument which Lady Macartney erected over his remains bears[1] the inscription printed overleaf:—

[1] It would be more correct to say that it *once* bore the inscription which I have given overleaf, since that inscription has been effaced from the surface of the stone by the hand of time. I obtained the words from a book by Mr. Thomas Faulkener, published in 1845. Even then, thirty-nine years only after the monument was erected, Mr. Faulkener remarked:—"We unwillingly observe that the letters of the inscription on Lord Macartney's monument are so badly cut, and the punctuation rendered so erroneous by the want of judgment in the mason, that the work may in a future day be adduced as a specimen of ill taste in the age that produced it."

Sacred to the Memory of The Right Hon'ble
GEORGE, EARL OF MACARTNEY,
Privy Counsellor, Knight of the Order of the Bath, etc.

A nobleman endowed by nature with the most extraordinary talents, which he cultivated with a degree of assiduity and perseverance hardly ever equalled. The greatest part of his life was devoted to the public service; and he filled a variety of high and important functions in different parts of the world with the most unsullied honour, the strictest integrity, good credit, and advantage to his King and country. His private virtues were such as to demand universal esteem and admiration. His liberality and generosity were unbounded. His superior knowledge, sweetness of disposition, and lively entertaining conversation rendered him the delight of his friends, and the ornament of society.

Lord Macartney left no issue.[1] He secured the lease of Corney House for, and bequeathed all his property to, his wife, for her life, with remainder, on her decease, to Mrs. Hume (his niece, and adopted daughter, the widow of a Doctor of Divinity), and to that lady's children in succession after her, coupled with the stipulation that they should assume his surname and arms. Lady Macartney had a large circle of relatives, including her eldest brother, who was made Marquis of Bute, and her three sisters, the Duchess of Northumberland, the Countess of Lonsdale, and the Countess of Portarlington. She survived her husband twenty-two years; then died, at Corney House, in 1828, aged eighty-six; and was buried beside him. Thereupon Lord Macartney's property devolved upon Mrs. Hume; and from her it has descended to her great-grandson, Mr. Carthanach George Macartney, of Lissanoure, Ireland, the present holder of it.

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[1] His portrait by Abbott is in the National Portrait Gallery, and a reproduction of it is given in the present volume. It represents him "in conference" with Sir George Staunton, his Private Secretary, upon the peace with Tippoo, 1784.

See Appendix III. for descriptions of Fort St. George in 1747 and 1783, taken from the long defunct *European Magazine.* The latter is illustrated by a sketch of Fort St. George during the period when Lord Macartney was Governor.

Painter Unknown.

GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.,
Commander-in-Chief in India, 1779-1783.

CHAPTER V

MACARTNEY AND COOTE

Lord Macartney arrived in Madras shortly after the outbreak of war between England and Holland, and he rendered all the assistance in his power for securing the capture of Sadras, Pulicat, Negapatam, and other Dutch possessions on the Coromandel Coast. At the same time he worked harmoniously with General Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, who was occupied with the war against Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas. But he did not succeed in inspiring Warren Hastings and the Government of Bengal with confidence. It is remarked by James Mill, in his *History of British India*, that Lord Macartney was not only of superior social rank to the Company's servants in India during the time that he held an official position there, but that he "set one of the finest examples of elevating a servant of the King to a high office in that country," and thereby of "intercepting the great prizes which animated the ambition of the individuals rising through the several stages of the Company's service." There was little disposition in Calcutta to give him credit for what Mr. Mill describes as his accomplishments, his talents, his calmness of temper, his moderation, and his urbanity. He spared no pains to keep his Council well acquainted with his views about passing events; and he wrote despatch after despatch of a voluminous nature, and in courteous terms, to the "Governor-General and Council," in view to inducing them to modify their poor opinion of, and their distrust of him. The India Office Library and the British Museum contain a large number of his papers; and I am led by what I have seen of them to the conclusion that Sir John Barrow (the author of an account of his life which has been

mentioned on a former page), was entitled to say, that his minutes are "masterly performances," and that his "whole correspondence with the hostile and counteracting Government of Bengal is characterized by a clearness, closeness, and cogency of argument, and by a firmness and moderation which distinguish it, in a very striking manner, from the loose, the puerile, and fanciful reasoning, and the haughty, harsh, and acrimonious language of the letters from Calcutta."

The somewhat independent attitude that was assumed by Lord Macartney in the Southern Presidency did not accord with the ideas of the fitness of things that were entertained by Warren Hastings, and shared by Sir Eyre Coote. Lord Macartney may have been insensibly influenced by a comparison between his own experiences and those of the Governor-General. He, as has been stated, had occupied an important position in Russia; had sat for several years in the House of Commons; had filled high office in Ireland; and was acquainted with the West Indies; whereas the experience of Warren Hastings was confined to Madras—where he was at one time Deputy-Governor—and Bengal. Perhaps also Hastings, on his part, was just a shade jealous of the handsome young nobleman in Madras, who had influential friends at his back, especially Hastings's remorseless enemy, Charles James Fox. Be this as it may, there was no love lost between the two; and their official relations were so strained that there was a departure from usage in regard to official correspondence that could hardly have been conducive to the security of the nascent Empire in India.

For a time Lord Macartney and Sir Eyre Coote remained on good terms. But, after a while, differences of opinion arose, partly, perhaps, because the General was impelled by the exigencies of a fierce and costly war against a redoubtable and resourceful enemy, to make demands upon the Treasury at Fort St. George that were in excess of the power of the Government to meet. Moreover, the General maintained that, in virtue of the terms of his appointment, or of his position as Commander-in-Chief in India, and a member therefore of the Council of the Governor-General, he should not be subject

to any interference by the Civil authorities in Madras in his conduct of the campaign. On the other hand, Lord Macartney, who was in no mood to play second fiddle, contended with all courtesy that since Sir Eyre Coote, in virtue of his status in the Governor-General's Council, became, *ex-officio*, a Member of the Council of Fort St. George during such time as he remained in the Presidency of Madras, his proceedings must be subject to, or be governed by, the resolutions adopted by the majority of the Madras Council.

The more the matter was discussed the more did each disputant think that he was right, and his opponent wrong. Lord Macartney was not too strong in his own Council, for Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, who was a member of it, was somewhat of an un-friend; and Major-General Stuart, second-in-command of the Madras Forces, made no attempt to disguise his sympathy with the views of his military chief. Moreover, the moral support accorded by the Governor-General and Council to that chief weighed in the balance against the Governor. But he held his own for all that, and so firmly refused to yield to Sir Eyre Coote's demands that the latter became disgusted, and resolved to take the earliest advantage of a pause in the war, which resulted from the enfeeblement of the moribund Hyder, to return to Calcutta. Colonel Mark Wilks, the Mysore historian, who commenced his career in the Madras Army in 1781, and was personally acquainted with both the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, remarked that "the estimable veteran could not fail to discover, through the fullest drapery of Lord Macartney's compliments, many intelligible insinuations that much more might have been done than was actually accomplished by the Army"; and "it must, with whatever reluctance, be allowed, that the temper evinced by him exhibited mournful evidence of his having outlived some of the most attractive qualities of his earlier character."

Sir Eyre Coote's health had suffered from the hardships of a long and difficult campaign in Southern India, and his spirits may have been affected by his controversies with the Local Government. He felt he needed change of air,

and he sought it, not by means of a sea voyage, but by returning at the height of the hot weather to Calcutta, where he felt quite at home, and among none but friends. The air, scene, and society of Calcutta soon had the restorative effect which he desired ; and he might have been glad to remain where he was had it not been that Hyder Ali died, and Tippoo, his son, speedily made things "hum" in a menacing manner in the immediate proximity of British acquisitions. The Governor General and Council did not consider that Major General Stuart was equal to the occasion, and Sir Eyre Coote was persuaded to retrace his steps to Madras in view to resuming the command of the local forces in the operations against Tippoo. He embarked at Calcutta in the Company's armed ship *Resolution*, which made a good voyage, and was nearing Madras when she was descried by two French ships of the line, that promptly gave her chase for a couple of days and nights. Mark Wilks says that, "justly conscious of the deep and irreparable wound which the country would sustain in being deprived of his services at this critical juncture, the General's anxiety kept him constantly on deck" ; and "the influence of excessive heat by day, the dews of night, and, above all, extreme agitation of mind during a long period in which escape appeared improbable, produced a relapse of complaints rather palliated than cured." The *Resolution* proved the superiority of her sailing powers to those of her pursuers, and, having effected her escape, she reached Madras, where, on March 25, Sir Eyre Coote landed. He was then in a critical state, but beyond the fact that he died two days later, I can find nothing about the pathetic close of his life. The public records are almost wholly devoid of information on the subject ; the publication of newspapers had not yet been sanctioned in Madras ; the Press was only in its infancy in Calcutta ; and the London Press was represented by the *Advertiser* and *Chronicle*, which rarely referred to affairs in the Far East, but preferred to indulge in the publication of poetical effusions and Parliamentary oratory.

Lady Coote may have accompanied her husband on his voyage, and was probably with him at his death. If so, it

was probably owing to her that it was decided that his remains should not rest in Indian, but in English soil. Accordingly they were conveyed on H.M.S. *Bombay Castle* from Madras to England, but Lady Coote remained in Madras. The ship arrived at Plymouth on September 1, and, on the following day, the body was disembarked in a boat that was escorted by boats from all the line-of-battleships in the harbour to the dockyard, minute guns being fired the while. A few days later it was removed to West Park, and there rested until the interment took place at Rockbourne parish church. Forty-five years passed, and then—or in 1828—a monument was erected in West Park by Jane, Lady Coote, widow of the second General Sir Eyre Coote, to "commemorate," as is stated in an inscription, "the military achievements and the private virtues of" General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B., and General Sir Eyre Coote, G.C.B., "uncle and nephew, whose brilliant exploits by extending the glory, and adding to the security of the British Empire, merited and obtained the approbation of their Sovereign and the thanks of a grateful country." The south side of the monument bears this inscription :—

> General Sir Eyre Coote, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, was the descendant of an ancient and honourable family, which derives its origin from Sir John Coote, a native of France, who married the daughter and heiress of Lord Boys of that Kingdom. Two Earldoms, two Baronies and the Order of the Bath conferred upon different branches of the family attest the loyalty and military success for which they were always distinguished. Sir Eyre Coote commanded the British Forces in India, and after a succession of important victories he finally completed the destruction of the French power in India by the conquest of Pondicherry, which surrendered to him in February, 1761. As a testimony of their gratitude for the brilliant services rendered by Sir Eyre Coote and their sense of the courage and conduct which had rendered results in victories to the British arms, the Court of Directors of the East India Company presented him with a diamond hilted sword of £700 value, and upon his death erected a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. In the year 1763 Sir Eyre Coote married a daughter of Charles Hutchinson, Esq., Governor of St. Helena, and dying at

Madras in 1783 without issue, he bequeathed his property of West Park with his other English and Irish estates to his nephew General Sir Eyre Coote, G.C.B., and K.C. His remains were brought from India and buried in Rockbourne Church A.D. 1784.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company were not slow to mark their sense of the great value of the services rendered to them by Sir Eyre Coote, for though they did not —as they might appropriately have done—make a grant to his widow, they enlisted the services of Thomas Banks, the famous sculptor at the time, in providing a white marble statue of the General to adorn their Consultation Hall, and also a monument in Westminster Abbey. The statue represents the General in full military uniform. The expression of the face is not engaging.[1] Shortly after the transfer of the head centre of the Government of India from Leadenhall Street to Whitehall, the statue was removed from the old India House, previous to its demolition, to the new India Office, on its completion, and placed in a niche on one of the two grand staircases of the Office, in a line with the statues of corresponding dimensions, similarly transferred, of Cornwallis, Wellesley and Wellington. A somewhat amusing, though undesigned, effect is produced by the contiguity of the statues of Coote and Cornwallis. The Marquis is represented holding an olive branch in his extended right hand, while his good-humoured face is turned blandly to the right, or towards the General. The General is shown gripping his drawn sword with his right hand, while his grim-looking face is turned rather sharply to the left, or towards the Marquis, as though he were exclaiming angrily, "What the dickens do you mean?", or words to that effect.

The Coote monument in the Abbey was erected in the north transept close to the spot which, nearly thirty-five years later, was granted by the Dean and Chapter to Mrs. Warren Hastings for the placing there of the bust of her husband. It is on a large scale, and is of white marble throughout.

[1] His portrait, by a "painter unknown," is in the National Portrait Gallery, and a reproduction of it is given in the present volume.

Sketched by the Author. From the "European Magazine", 1790.

THE EYRE COOTE MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

It will be seen from the accompanying sketch of it that a young female, with wings that look disproportionate to her probable weight in mid-air, intended to represent Victory, is shown lifting up to, in order to hang upon a nail driven into the trunk of a palm tree, a medallion bearing a representation in relief of the head and shoulders of Coote; and, on the other side of the tree there is a figure, intended to represent a muscular, and totally unclad Mahratta captive, who is overwhelmed with grief, as he sits on the ground, with his broad back to the trunk of the tree. There are three standards beside the tree, and Eastern weapons in front of it, while beneath is an elephant on a very small scale. The inscription[1] is as follows:—

> This Monument is erected by the East India Company as a Memorial of the military talents of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B., Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in India, who by the success of his arms in the years 1760 and 1761 expelled the French from the Coast of Coromandel. In 1781–82 he again took the field in the Carnatic in opposition to the united strength of the French and Hyder Ally, and in several engagements defeated the numerous forces of the latter. But death interrupted his career of glory on the 27th of April, 1783, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

It was habitual with Warren Hastings to preserve many letters which he received from private correspondents; and he not only brought home with him a large collection that he formed while he was Governor General, but he added to it while he resided first at (what was then) No. 1, Park Lane, London (the house close to the Marble Arch, in which the late Mr. George Smith, of Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., long lived), and subsequently at his seat at Daylesford, in Worcestershire. Five letters from Lady Coote were among this collection; and long after Warren Hastings's death they were purchased for the nation, and are now preserved at the British Museum, where I came accidentally upon them. The

[1] I have been compelled by the limitations of space to omit a portion of the inscription from my copy of the sketch of the monument in the *European Magazine* of 1790.

first, addressed from "Ghiretty," is dated November 26, 1780. It is a private letter, yet, in conformity with the formality of the day, it commences with the word "Sir," without any prefix. It contains no more than the communication of the circumstance, that "I have just had the satisfaction to receive a few lines from Sir Eyre himself, dated the 6th, who charges me to make his excuses to you for not having written to you at the same time as he did to the Board, but he had been so hurried as to put it entirely out of his power. He seemed to apprehend from the Intelligence of that day that Hyder was in possession of Arcot." Then Lady Coote proceeded to say: "I beg you will make my compliments acceptable to Mrs. Hastings;[1] it gave me much pleasure to hear she was so well recover'd." In conclusion she described herself as "Your obedient, humble Servant." The next letter is dated January 12, 1781. It commences: "I feel myself very sensibly obliged by the Proof of considerate Attention which I have just received from you. The Report, whatever it is, fortunately had not reached me. I say fortunately, because however improbable, and undeserving of Credit, Rumours of this Kind may be, they serve at least to alarm the Hopes and Apprehensions which it is best to keep within Bounds; but for authentick Information I shall depend solely upon Yourself in consequence of the Promise you have so obligingly made

[1] Warren Hastings, son of the Rev. Penniston Hastings, was born at Churchill, Oxfordshire, December 6, 1732; was educated at Westminster School; was appointed a "Writer in India" by the East India Company, 1749; proceeded to Bengal; married the widow of Captain Campbell, of the Company's service, 1756; became a widower 1759; was appointed a Member of Council, Calcutta, 1761; returned home, 1764; was appointed Second in Council, Madras, 1769; returned to India in the *Duke of Grafton*; had as fellow passengers Baron and Baroness Imhoff; was appointed President of the Supreme Council, Bengal, 1772; became first Governor General of India, 1774; married Baroness Imhoff (Marie Anne von Chapuset) after the dissolution of her marriage with Baron Imhoff, 1775; resigned, 1785; was brought to trial at Westminster Hall, February 13, 1788; was acquitted April 21, 1795; had meanwhile purchased the Daylesford estate, near Churchill; died there in his eighty-sixth year, August 22, 1818. Mrs. Hastings died at Daylesford in her ninetieth year, March 20, 1837, and was buried beside her husband in Daylesford churchyard.

Swan Electric Engraving Co.

Warren Hastings

Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. — Engraved by W. Say

me." Lady Coote then referred to military matters, and remarked that "the weakness of Sir Eyre's present Army even in Numbers, and still more in effect, as the Sepoys cannot be depended upon, leaves him in a situation as unprofitable to the Service as painful to Himself." In conclusion she offered her "best Compliments" to Mrs. Hastings.

On June 15, 1783, about eleven weeks after her husband's death, Lady Coote wrote to Warren Hastings from "Choultry Plain, Madras." This letter shows that she declined to make an application to Lord Macartney, the Governor, or to any one else in Madras for aid in securing for her a passage to England. She wrote:—

Sir,—Though I have hitherto been unable to address you upon Subjects of such a nature I beg you will believe me not less sensible of your ready and powerful Interference in respect to the embarrassments occasioned by Sir Eyre Coote's Publick Debt to the Admiral. The extraordinary and harsh manner in which both that Gentleman, and the Select Committee continued to urge a Point which their own unaccommodating Dispositions had put it out of my power to settle, as speedily as I wished, proved no small aggravation of Distresses already too severe! And could anything heighten my sensibility for those Honourable Proofs of real Regard and Attention which I find have been paid to the General's Memory by Yourself, Sir, the Supreme Board, and through your Example, by the Settlements at large, it would be this striking difference of procedure, upon the very Spot, and by the very People who owed so much to the unremitted exertions of his Zeal and Abilities! I wish my painful Recollections could stop even here! But circumstances too strongly convince me that had any proper effort been made to spare us the Chace we were abandoned to, I might still have been happy, and the Publick had yet reaped the benefit of Sir Eyre's Services!

With such a heavy addition to the Calamity I have sustained my Spirits are hardly equal to the task of looking Homeward; but it is necessary I should do so, and I fear I must become troublesome to you to assist me with the means of getting there. An India Ship is what I much prefer, and I do not find that any one is likely to be despatched from this Place, but I am told there is half a Cargo ready. Possibly in that case it may not be quite out of Rule for a Ship to call for it on the way from Bengal, and if so I can take advantage of the circumstance to secure a Passage. But as it is now of consequence to me to know the Commander, I take the liberty of naming two in hopes of your Indulgence in appointing one or other of them, if he can be appointed without impropriety. Captain Cooke of the *Worcester* I am well acquainted with, and Convinced that nothing which could

make the Voyage easy would be omitted on his part. Should it interfere with his destination, or any Engagement to other Passengers, Captain Hoare, of the *General Coote*, has offered his Ship for my Accommodation. He was to have sailed for Bengal about this time, but it will now be a little defer'd by his going first to the Northward for a Cargo of Rice.

Lady Coote then proceeded to say a good word to the Governor General on behalf of members of her late husband's Staff and household :—

Having thus taxed your Friendship for the General on my own behalf, will you permit me to go a little further for the sake of those who suffer as well in their Prospects as their Feelings by his Decease ?

His Family is now dispersing, and some of the members of it, after going through much of Service, fatigue, and expence, will return to Bengal, I doubt rather worse in circumstances than they quitted it. Will you kindly look towards them, and let them find from you the Patronage they have lost ? And when I assure you it will be a Consolation to Myself to hear they have been favoured by your Attention, will you assist in throwing by that means some Light upon the Melancholy Hours I have before me ?

I shall engage your time no farther than to mention that Captain Hay, who has the pleasure to deliver this Letter, stands very much in the situation I have described.

Seven more weeks passed, and then Lady Coote wrote to Hastings, and informed him of the somewhat churlish treatment which she had experienced at the hands of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes :—

Sir, — I am sorry to be under the necessity of troubling you again upon the subject of my Passage home. In my letter of the 18th of June by Captain Hay I took the Liberty of naming two Ships in preference to any others, as the Captains of them were known to me, and of requesting that one or other of them might be permitted to touch here on their way to Europe. But the engagement of Captain Cook and the Decease of Captain Hoare deprived me of both those opportunities.

When thus at large, in consequence of repeated and pressing offers of Service sent me by Sr Edw. Hughes, I wrote to him requesting the *Medea* Frigate might be granted for my accommodation ; and it will perhaps surprise you to hear I was told it could not be allowed as he had destined it to take Dispatches home ! !

Mrs. Hastings.

From a sketch by Ozias Humphry. R. A.

W. Greatbach sc. | Swan Electric Engraving Co.

No time being to be lost in making some arrangements, I was under the necessity of securing one of the Ships now in the Roads at the risk of its being approved by you, Sir, and of your permission, for a Cargo to be put on board as expeditiously as possible, and allowing her to return hither in the Month of December next. I have, however, little doubt of your obliging concurrence in what is a matter of real moment to me. The Ship I have engaged is the *Belmont*, Captain Gamage, and am promised she shall be dispatched from here as soon as possible.

The fifth and last letter is dated the 1st October. Lady Coote was still in Madras, but was about to see the last of India, and before leaving she endeavoured to interest Hastings in a member of her husband's Staff who appeared to her to be specially deserving :—

I am rather apprehensive that Mr. Hastings will think I encroach upon the indulgence he has granted me of mentioning to him those Gentlemen of Sr Eyre Coote's Family who have suffered the most severely by his loss, when I acknowledge that the Person I am about to solicit for belongs at present to this Establishment, though, through the Interest of his Uncle, Lord Camden, he may have some hope of being removed to a better.

In consequence of the death of Mr. Tierney, the Paymastership to the Bengal Detachment is vacated. Upon a presumption that it may not be an Object for any Gentleman to come from Bengal hither to fill that Post, for the few months it is said the Detachment is to remain absent from its Establishment, and in the prospect of being enabled by succeeding him to settle the Accounts of his Friend with more facility and attention than could be expected from a stranger, Mr. Tylor, the General's Assistant Secretary, has ventured to express to me, his wishes, that I could interest myself, on his behalf, provided I judged there was no impropriety in the request. If there is allow me to take the blame of it wholly upon myself, and to assure you that this young Man's fearfulness of presuming is equal to his real merits. Of those Sr Eyre Coote was fully sensible, and lamented his inability to acknowledge by the addition of some little Emoluments, to the very laborious Office he held in his Family, but when the opportunity of a vacant employment presented itself, Lord Macartney refused the General his Assent, and the event which Mr. Tylor laments as much from Affection as from the loss of his own hopes leaves him without any prospect here.

Such is the state of the case ; and if he might be indulged in consideration of these circumstances, and of a very excellent character, with an appointment to the Bengal Detachment for the remainder of its term I should consider myself as fortunate in having made his situation known to you, and in seeing the General's good wishes on his behalf carried into some effect.

I repeat again that I am apprehensive I may exceed my proper bounds in making this application, but something is to be asked in the cause of Merit, and in the earnest desire of fulfilling the Instructions of a departed Friend! And tho' Mr. Hastings may find that I am troublesome, he will, I venture to assure myself, be apt to forgive the error in consideration of what leads me into it.

My best Compliments attend Mrs. Hastings, and I am, Sir, with much esteem,

Your Obliged and Obedient Servant,

SUSANNA COOTE.

Lady Coote arrived safely in England, and took up her residence at West Park, her husband's property, near Rockbourne, Hampshire. There she lived eleven years, and then dying, was buried beside him in the parish church.

It appears from the records of the Government of Madras that at the date of Sir Eyre Coote's death, Lord Macartney and the civilian members of his Council were more concerned about the probable diversion of public treasure from their almost empty exchequer than by a sense of the loss sustained by the State by the death of that distinguished officer. A meeting of the Select Committee was held in the Fort the day after his arrival, when the Governor brought to the notice of the Committee: "That Sir Eyre Coote is at length arrived, and he understands has brought with him both despatches and treasure, but as yet we have received nothing from him"; and immediately after his death some brisk correspondence passed about the treasure between the Committee and his Assistant Private Secretary, who declined to make any admission.

Accordingly the local Government wrote to Colonel Owen, Military Secretary to the late General, to say that they had been informed by the Captain of the *Resolution* that, on the 15th idem, he had landed, by the Colonel's orders, four chests of treasure, belonging to the Hon'ble East India Company; and therefore requested him to direct the same to be delivered immediately to Mr. Freeman, Secretary to the Committee, acting for the Cashkeeper. The Colonel at once replied, and said that as it was impossible to answer the Government's letter fully in so short a time, he begged to be allowed to

explain the subject thereof in person. To this the Government agreed. He then attended the Council, and represented how the treasure had come into his possession, and that as Mr. Arthur Cuthbert had, on behalf of Admiral Hughes, threatened prosecution if a claim of the Admiral's on the late Sir Eyre Coote's estate was not complied with, he was unable to meet the wishes of the Government. He then asked to be allowed to go and see the Admiral on the subject. The permission being granted, he found the Admiral, and induced him to return with him to the Council Chamber. Thereupon, according to the Minutes :—

The President relates what had passed to Sir Edward Hughes, and reads from the records the transaction relative to the bond as above stated, and observes to Sir Edward Hughes that Rs. 5 lakhs which came in the *Resolution*, and entrusted to the charge of Sir Eyre Coote, are the property of the Company, have their mark and seal, and were extremely wanted for the Army, to enable it to proceed in the present important expedition; that the security of Sir Eyre Coote is undoubtedly good, but that any counter security that this Government can give shall be given in addition to it.

The Admiral in answer informs the Council that the money was advanced by Mr. Cuthbert by order (out of public money) at a time when the Army was much distressed ; that Sir Eyre Coote assured him it should be repaid him out of the first money that should arrive from Bengal ; and that Mr. Graham has furnished him with an extract of a letter from the Governor-General and Council to this Government directing that the amount of the bond shall be paid out of the very first consignment of treasure from them.

The Committee then inform the Admiral that no such Order has been received ; that they recollect their Secretary being applied to upon the subject, and his answer that he does not recollect seeing it in any letter from Bengal to the Military Department. The Civil Secretary being sent for and questioned on the subject makes the same declaration.

Sir Edward Hughes refers the matter to Mr. Cuthbert, who, he observes, is the person concerned, though he, as having given him the order, is ultimately responsible.

Colonel Owen being again called upon to deliver up the money declined to obey, but informed the Committee that he would go to Mr. Cuthbert, and speak to him on the subject. Thus baffled, the Government on the same day addressed the following despatch to the Governor General and Council, Fort William :—

We are sorry we have to inform you of the melancholy news of the death of Sir Eyre Coote, which happened here yesterday afternoon. As from the moment of his arrival he was too ill to have any personal application made to him, we directed enquiries to be made among the gentlemen of his family for any despatches from you to this Presidency, or any Company's Treasure remitted here for the Public Service. As your letter of the 11th of March mentions to us that Sir Eyre Coote would bring us any further instructions you might have to send on the subject contained in that letter, and as you knew the increased and pressing emergencies of this Presidency, and that we received no remittance from you by sea or by (?), we fully expected to receive at this time your assistance, as well as your instructions, but it appears from every enquiry we can make that there are neither despatches nor money addressed to the Company's representatives here. We find, however, by the Captain of the *Resolution*, in which Sir Eyre Coote came here, that he signed bills of lading for five lakhs of rupees received by him from the Governor-General and Council of Fort William with the Company's mark and seal affixed, but that he was directed to deliver the same to Sir Eyre Coote, and that he did deliver it to Colonel Owen, as acting for Sir Eyre Coote. We have applied to Colonel Owen for this money which is not denied to be the property of the Company, but he has not as yet agreed to our command. . . . As we understand that there is treasure belonging to the Company expected in the *San Carlos*, likewise consigned to Sir Eyre Coote, we request that you will be pleased to send us an order to the Captain of that vessel to deliver it to the Company's representatives here.

The Government proceeded to insist that they would probably be caused considerable inconvenience if funds were still withheld, and they deprecated the entrusting and management in Madras of any money belonging to the Company to persons other than those who were placed in local control of the Company's "pecuniary concerns." They had despatched an expedition against Cuddalore in view to the expulsion of the French from the coast, and they could not have done this, or have even "carried on the most pressing and essential business of Government, but for the frequent, though not very large, supplies we receive in consequence of the Nabob's assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic."

The Government could not receive a reply to this despatch for several days, and being tantalized beyond endurance by the knowledge that Colonel Owen had possession of "sinews

of war" of which they stood urgently in need, they resolved to make another attempt to induce him to hand over the treasure. So they wrote to him on the 2nd May to say that, as the treasure was the property of the Company, they required him to deliver it to their Secretary without delay; and they added: "Your speedy answer is desired immediately, as the Council is sitting. It is unnecessary for you to enter into any detail upon the matter, but either comply with this requisition, or signify your refusal." Colonel Owen replied the same day. He gave a lengthy explanation of his retention of the treasure, and concluded by saying that if the Government could by any method satisfy the demand of the Admiral on the late General's estate, "I shall be very happy to deliver the treasure over to you, but do refuse doing so on any other terms." The Government thereupon sent this letter, with previous correspondence, to the Attorney-General for an expression of his opinion as to the course which they should pursue. The opinion and advice of the Attorney-General are not on record, but that they did not tend in the direction of the adoption of summary proceedings against the Colonel may be inferred from the circumstance that the Government took no further action in the matter for six days.

Then, however, they were prompted by the receipt of an urgent requisition for money from General Stuart—who had now, by Sir Eyre Coote's death, reverted to his former position as local Commander-in-Chief—to address themselves again to the Colonel, and once more demand the surrender to them of the "Public Treasure" in his custody. They took the opportunity of warning him that "in case of any failure in our present operations from the want of public money now in your possession, such failure must be imputed to your withholding it, and you must be considered as responsible for the consequence." The Colonel replied in a prolix letter, and not only declined to obey the order of the Government, and attempted to justify the course he had taken, but presumed to say that, if he was "fortunate enough to command the Army on the present service, even with an empty Cash

Chest—which situation our late invaluable General was, in the face of the enemy, often reduced to—I should meet consequences and responsibility with confidence." He declined to admit that because he would not part with a sum of money placed casually in his possession until lawfully authorized to do so, he could be held answerable for "the success of any military operations dependent on the Government's want of credit." At the same time, he considered that General Stuart's exertions "reflected the highest honour on him, prepared as he is for enterprise, and watchful to take the very first advantage of the arrival of his supplies at the head of a gallant Army inured to fatigue and hardship of every description, provided his supplies and stores are covered by sea co-operation."

If the Government had yielded to the provocation of this amazing letter, placed the Colonel under arrest, and deported him, they might have committed a breach of the regulations, or what passed for the law at the time, but they could hardly have failed to be exonerated from blame by their Hon'ble Masters in Leadenhall Street. They preferred, however, to bandy more words with the wordy warrior, so they lost no time about writing to him in peremptory terms, and at great length. They concluded by saying: "This Presidency therefore, Sir, calls upon you once more to deliver to them immediately the treasure in your possession; in failure of doing which they will consider it their duty to represent to their employers the imminent risk to which you thus expose their service, and that of the British nation connected with it." On the same day they wrote to the Governor General and Council, and submitted a copy of all correspondence on the subject of the treasure. In doing so they stated that the "disappointment of the supply of the money" in Colonel Owen's possession "has involved us in greater difficulties than we have ever hitherto experienced in all our former distresses to furnish the Army with sufficient cash for its ordinary disbursements."

The members of the Government had to possess their souls in as much patience as they could command during several

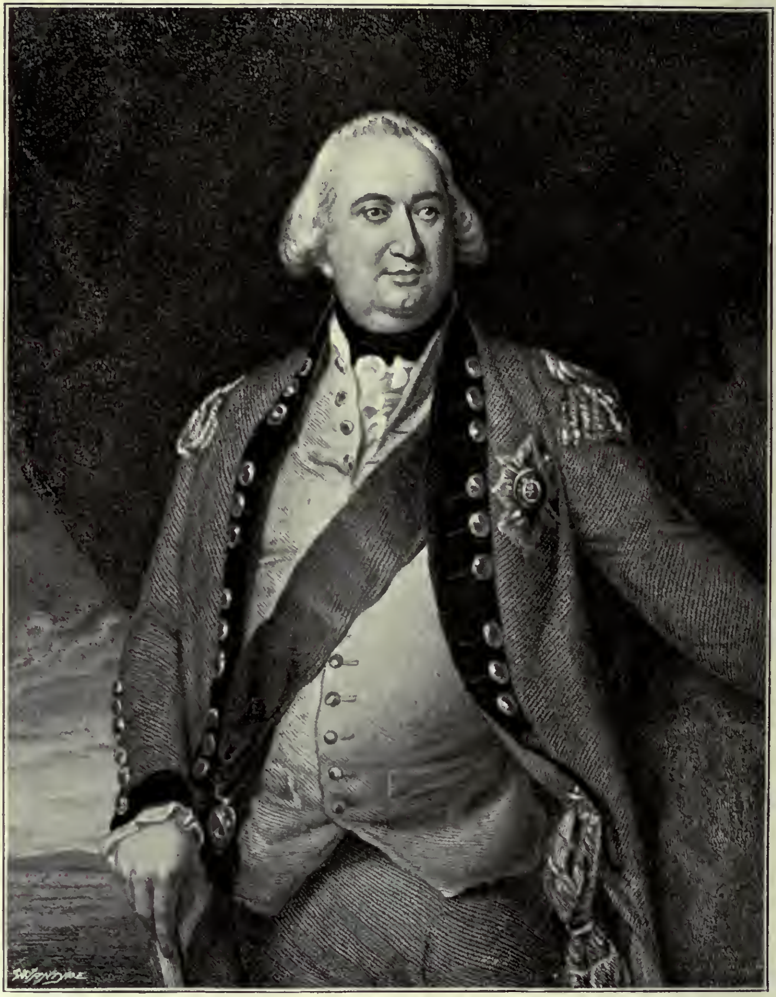
days, while Colonel Owen sat tight on the treasure, and the authorities at Calcutta made no sign. At last, the Madras Government received the following letter from the Governor General and Council :—

By letters which we have received from Admiral Sir Edward Hughes and Colonel Owen we find that a demand has been made upon the former in consequence of the unfortunate decease of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, for the repayment of a loan of one lakh of Pagodas advanced to the General for the Public Service by Sir Edward Hughes in July last, and that Colonel Owen, not being authorized to discharge this claim, did not think proper to dispose of the consignment of treasure landed from the *Resolution* until he should be furnished with our authority. To prevent any loss of time in issuing our Orders for this purpose we take this early opportunity of enclosing an Order to Colonel Owen to deliver up the said consignment as well as that laden in the *San Carlos*, if it shall be in his charge, to your Order, as we had authorized Sir Eyre Coote as long ago as August last to discharge his Bond to the Admiral for the loan above mentioned out of the first supplies which should be sent from this Presidency. It was his fixed determination to appropriate a part of the Treasure which he took with him from hence in the *Resolution* to this use. We therefore desire and enjoin you to complete our intentions by ordering the instant payment of the said Bond to the Admiral, with such interest as may be due upon it from the produce of the treasure landed from the *Resolution*. We further enclose a letter to Captain Murray requiring the delivery of the treasure on board the *San Carlos* to your Order, if it shall not have been delivered from his charge.

This letter provoked a sharp reply from the Madras Government, which concluded thus :—

The value of Sir Eyre Coote's bond has been paid to Mr. Cuthbert, the Flag Agent, about ten days since, and we shall be happy if the public suffers less inconvenience from the want of that sum at this critical time than the Admiral would do when the immediate demand was made for the money upon Lady Coote early the morning after the General's death. We felt so strongly upon the occasion that we offered to the Admiral every security this Government could give to prevent a repetition of it at so trying a moment, but without success. Ever since the care we took of the Company's interests in the case of the prizes and booty taken at Negapatam waiting the event of His Majesty's decision as directed by Charter, and the Company's instructions, we have lost all credit with the Admiral, and he has repeatedly assured us that he never would lend this Government one half-penny.

This letter crossed, *en route*, one from the Governor General and Council, of three days earlier date, in which they said: "We are concerned that Colonel Owen, who knows that this money was consigned to Sir Eyre Coote for the Public Service, should have hesitated to deliver it up immediately to your orders, as by retaining it in his possession no one could benefit by the supply; but we are also concerned to observe the nature of your Proceedings upon the occasion, and we must in a great measure ascribe the difficulty which has occurred to your own refusal to discharge the late General's bond to Sir Edward Hughes." And so on. The correspondence need not be followed any further. In the end, the treasure was paid into the Company's Treasury in Fort St. George, and employed in the service of the Company. The episode is interesting as showing the extraordinary fashion in which that service was financed at the date of Sir Eyre Coote's demise, and as illustrating the relations, in face of the enemy, of the Governments of Warren Hastings and Lord Macartney.



Painted by John Singleton Copley, R.A. Engraved by S. Freeman.

THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, K.G.,
Governor-General of India, 1786-1793, and 1805.

CHAPTER VI

CORNWALLIS AND OAKELEY

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, of Inveneil, succeeded Lord Macartney as Governor of Madras in 1786. He had previously gained distinction as a soldier, chiefly in connexion with the command of Highland regiments, and he had been Governor of Jamaica. He was well known to Earl Cornwallis; and, some little time after he assumed office in Madras, the Governor General, writing to Lord Sydney, assured him that "no Governor was ever more popular, and I must do him the justice to say that he seconds me nobly." Sir Archibald Campbell's health gave way towards the close of 1788, and, on the 7th February following, he was compelled on that account to resign his post, and embark for England, where he died, two years afterwards, aged fifty-two. He was buried in the Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey. On his departure from Madras Mr. John Holland became Acting Governor of Fort St. George, but he vacated the appointment six days later in favour of his brother, Mr. Edward Holland, who discharged the duties for a year, and was then relieved by Major-General Medows, who was transferred from Bombay, where he had been Governor less than a year. The General was accompanied to Madras by Colonel Harris, his Military Secretary, and principal Aide-de-Camp.[1] This

[1] A particularly interesting illustration of the adage that "great events from little causes spring" is furnished by the chance meeting of General Medows and his old comrade Colonel Harris, in London, on the eve of the departure of the former for India, and just after the latter had instructed his agents to sell his commission, preparatory to his devoting himself to farming in Ireland. Mr. Stephen Rumbold Lushington (Governor of Madras, 1827 to 1832), son-in-law and biographer of the latter, stated: "On Colonel Harris's arrival in

was not the first time that General Medows had been in Madras, for in 1783, having heard at the Cape of Good Hope that the British were being hard pressed by Hyder Ali in Southern India, he took upon himself the responsibility of sailing with three ships, and a large body of troops, from the Cape for Madras, and he accompanied Colonel Fullarton's expedition against Mysore. But peace was suddenly patched up with Hyder, and Medows, finding his local occupation gone, then returned home.

During the Holland interregnum there had been a lamentable neglect to prepare for the resumption of hostilities with Tippoo that any impartial observer might have seen to be inevitable, sooner or later. The opinion entertained of the Holland Administration by Lord Cornwallis is shown by the following despatch, which he addressed from Fort William, on the 30th March 1790, to Mr. Edward Holland—

I have received your letter, dated the 3rd instant, and although I dislike controversy, as much as (the Honourable John Holland, Esq.) the late Governor of Fort St. George, and felt it a very painful task to write letters of Reprehension, the duty of my station requires that I should say, that I think the late Government of Fort St. George were guilty of a most criminal disobedience of the clear and explicit orders of this Government, dated the 29th of August and 13th of November, by not considering themselves to be at war with Tippoo from the moment that they heard of his attack on the lines of the Rajah of Travancore, which made a part of his former possessions,

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London he accidentally met Sir William Medows in St. James' Street, and, after mutual expressions of friendship and affection, awakened by the casual meeting of two such comrades in past dangers, he explained the purpose of his visit to town, and his future intentions. Sir William listened with pain and impatience to the story, and asked if he had actually received the money, and if the new commission had been positively signed by the King. He was told that there would be the delay of another day, in consequence of Princess Amelia's death. 'Then,' said he, 'Harris, you shan't sell out—you shall go with me as Secretary and Aide-de-camp; I am just appointed Governor of Bombay, and your presence will be a host to me. I'll go directly to the agent, and stop the sale!' He did accordingly, and thus, by the generous friendship of Sir William Medows, and the intervention of a kind Providence, Colonel Harris was reserved for another and a higher destiny."

and were guaranteed to him by us in the late Treaty of Peace. So far am I from giving credit to the late Government for economy in not making the necessary preparations for war, according to the positive orders of the Supreme Government, after having received the most gross insult that could be offered to any nation. I think it very possible that every cash of that ill-judged saving may cost the Company a crore of rupees ; besides which, I still more sincerely lament the disgraceful sacrifice you have made by that delay of the honour of your country by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, which we were bound, by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith, to defend.

Thus it was that General Medows, on his arrival in Madras, found the Coast Army weak in numbers, and poor in equipment. A few weeks passed, and Tippoo again provoked hostilities with the British by invading the territory of their ally, the Maharajah of Travancore, so an expedition was despatched against him. General Medows proceeded in command of this force to Mysore. He seized four of Tippoo's smaller fortresses, and he relieved and occupied Coimbatore, Erode, Palghat, Dindigul, and Sattymangalam. But the demands that he made on the endurance of his army were too frequent and severe, and at length Tippoo recovered Erode, Sattymangalam, and Davapuram, and even laid siege to Trichinopoly. General Medows then fell back upon Madras to recruit. Lord Cornwallis now perceived that as the balance of the advantage of the campaign could not be placed to the credit of the English, it behoved him to leave Bengal in order to assume the responsibility of the chief command of the Coast Army; and General Medows thereupon became second-in-command.

On the 4th February Lord Cornwallis, as Governor General and Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by his Staff and suite, proceeded from Fort St. George to the "ground near the Long Tank," and was met there by General Medows, who had moved from the Grand Encampment at "Vellout," the same morning, to meet him. Early on the following morning the army was encamped at Vellout, with their tents standing, and all quiet. But in the space of half an hour

the whole force was in motion, and every tent was struck. According to the *Courier*:—

> The sun soon rose to display the scene in all its extent and splendour, and certainly it would be difficult to imagine one more sublime. And when the vastness of the multitude is considered, the train of cannon and the quantity of baggage, with all the draught and carriage cattle requisite, and the servants and followers of every denomination, multiplying perhaps tenfold the actual number of 17,000 or 18,000 fighting men, in their various and emulous departments of Infantry and Cavalry, European and Native Artillery, Volunteers, Pioneers and all, it will be impossible to contemplate with too much admiration the effect of military disciplinc and experience, aided by the spirit of a cause so great and good as the present.

Eventually, on the 25th February, 1792, Lord Cornwallis concluded the treaty of peace with Tippoo before Seringapatam, which the King gratefully acknowledged by raising him to the dignity of a Marquis.

It may be mentioned here that if (as in respect to the Hollands) Lord Cornwallis could express his opinions in an uncompromising manner, he was ever ready to award praise ungrudgingly when he thought it was deserved. He occupied during the campaign a very delicate position towards General Medows, but there is no evidence of there ever having been strained relations between them. Lord Cornwallis was not playing for his own hand, his own laurels; but he was animated by a lofty sense of duty to his King and country, and General Medows effaced himself right loyally in order to aid his official Chief to the utmost. After the capture of Bangalore, Lord Cornwallis issued a General Order, in which he offered his congratulations to "the officers and soldiers of the army on the honourable issue of the fatigues and dangers which they underwent during the late arduous siege." He expressed his approbation of the alacrity and firmness that had been shown, and alluded to the aid he had received from individual officers. And then he concluded as follows: "Although His Lordship is unwilling to offend General Medows's delicacy by attempting to express his full sense of the able and friendly assistance which he uniformly

experienced from him, he cannot avoid declaring that it has made an impression on his mind."

Some time before this General Medows had requested the Court of Directors to relieve him of his appointments of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and they prevailed upon Sir Charles Oakeley, a former Civil Servant in Madras, to accept the former. He was the son of a clergyman in Staffordshire, who was acquainted with Lady Clive, wife of the Clive of history, and mother of Edward, second Lord Clive of Plassey, Governor of Madras. That lady interested herself in young Oakeley, and, by the exertion of her influence with the Court of Directors, obtained for him a Writership in Madras. Thus it was that in 1767, when he was no more than sixteen years of age, he arrived in Madras, and was at once appointed Assistant Secretary to Government in the Civil Department. He held that position for six years, during which he came under the notice of Mr. Charles Bourchier, Mr. Josias Duprè, and Mr. Alexander Wynch, the successive Governors. He was then promoted, at the age of twenty-two, to the Secretaryship, and he occupied that position during the administration of the ill-fated George, Lord Pigot. In 1777—the year of his marriage—he was transferred by Mr. Whitehill, the Governor, to the Secretaryship of the Military and Political Department, and was also appointed Judge Advocate-General and Translator to the Government. In 1782 he was selected by Lord Macartney for the office of President of the Arcot Committee, and, by his tact, conscientiousness, and experience he succeeded in materially assisting the Nabob of Arcot to find means to pay his debts. In 1786 he was appointed President of the new Board of Revenue at Madras, and he retained that berth for two years, when he resigned in consequence of ill-health, and returned home, after a continuous service in Madras of twenty-two years. In all probability he had resolved to accept a well-earned pension, and retire therewith to private life. But the Court of Directors, being well informed of his worth, were indisposed to allow him to withdraw, and not only did they place on record an emphatic

resolution expressive of their approval of his services, but, when difficulty was experienced in finding a suitable successor to Sir William Medows, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas supported the invitation which the Court of Directors made to him to return to Madras. The current and prospective needs of his large family induced him in 1790 to accept the highly flattering offer of the Governorship, and he was thereupon created a Baronet.

On the 13th October the Company's packet *Swallow* arrived at Madras from Europe, having on board Sir Charles and Lady Oakeley. Sir Charles Oakeley, it was announced, "is appointed second in council to Major-General Medows, and to succeed to the Government of Madras when the appointment of General Medows to succeed to the Supreme Chair of Bengal shall take place. General Medows is appointed then to succeed as Commander-in-Chief." He found, however, that General Medows had been compelled to postpone his resignation of the Governorship in consequence of the outbreak of war with Tippoo. He therefore assumed, as Second in Council, the charge of the civil administration at Madras; and, devoting himself to the task of retrenching expenses and developing revenue, in view to providing Lord Cornwallis with funds to carry on the war, he succeeded in restoring public credit, in improving the currency, and in reducing the rate of interest on the public debt. General Medows remained on active service until 1792, when, on the patching up of peace with Tippoo, he vacated the Governorship,[1] which Sir Charles Oakeley then assumed. In June, 1793, the news reached India of the outbreak of war between England and revolutionary France, and Sir Charles Oakeley, on his own responsibility, immediately made preparations for an expedition against Pondicherry. The

[1] There is a full-length portrait of Major-General Medows in the Banqueting Hall, Madras, which is attributed to Robert Home, and was acquired by public subscription. On returning to England he received the Order of the Bath, attained the rank of General, held for a short time the chief command in Ireland, and died in 1813.

expedition was despatched in due course, and effected the capture of Pondicherry in August.

In common with, and partly perhaps because of the good example set by Lord Macartney, his former official chief, Sir Charles Oakeley had a keen sense of honour in regard to the acceptance of presents. He signed the then customary affidavit, when resigning the Governorship, setting forth that he "hath not directly nor indirectly, by himself, or by any other person or persons, for his use, or on his behalf, taken or accepted any sum of money, or other valuable thing, by way of salary, fee, perquisite, or emolument of office other than, and except" what he had been authorized by the Company to do. He also stated that Tippoo Sultan had offered presents to Lady Oakeley to mark his gratitude for her kindness to his two sons when they were detained as hostages in Madras, and that he did not feel at liberty to permit her to accept them. But the Court of Directors thought it right to allow a departure from its stringent Regulation on this occasion, and "therefore we desire," they wrote after his departure to Lord Hobart, his successor, "that the articles in question shall be appropriated as originally designed, and that Lady Oakeley will receive them from the Company as a mark of esteem and approbation of her very becoming conduct in the attention she has bestowed in making the residence of those young Princes as happy and comfortable as was compatible with their situation." Lord Hobart communicated a copy of the Court's despatch to Sir Charles Oakeley, but the latter replied: "To have declined the presents, or even to have shown any mark of concern or embarrassment in accepting them, would have created a considerable degree of uneasiness in the minds of the hostages and their attendants. But, although I did not think they could with propriety be rejected, I was clearly of opinion that they ought not in any circumstances to become the property of my family; and as my sentiments on this point continue the same, and Lady Oakeley's are in perfect correspondence with them, I trust the Honourable Court will not be displeased that we do not profit by their polite intentions.

I am highly sensible, however, of the generosity which has influenced their conduct on this occasion, and beg, through Your Lordship, to make my humble and respectful acknowledgments."

It may be mentioned here that it was in the year 1777 that Sir Charles Oakeley married, in Madras, Helena, a daughter of Robert Beatson, of Fifeshire, a lady of much benevolence, energy of character, and musical talent. It was related in the *Hircarrah* of Madras in January, 1794, that on one day early in that month a concert of sacred music was given at St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, on behalf of the Male Orphan Asylum, and under the "special patronage" of Lady Oakeley, wife of the Governor. The organ loft was occupied by a body of performers, "such as these countries have never heard nor seen, but which any country might be happy to see and hear." The chief female vocalists included Lady Oakeley, *ex-officio* Patroness of the Charity, Mrs. Porcher, Mrs. Gent, Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Bosc, Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Johnston; and the male vocalists included Mr. Lewis, Mr. Baker, Mr. Lushington, Mr. Bosc, Mr. Oram, Mr. Paisley, Mr. Chalmers, Mr. Hurdis, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Linley. Mr. Topping presided at the organ. There were six violinists, namely, Mr. Duirstedt, Mr. Haydn, Mr. Sherriman, Captain Beatson, Mr. Heefke, and Mr. Caldwell. The Rev. Mr. Millingchamp played the violoncello, and there were performers on clarionets, horns, bassoons, and kettledrums. The first part consisted of selections from Handel's *Messiah*, the second part of selections from his *Judas Maccabeus*, while, in the third part, selections from *Esther* were given, concluding with the Coronation Anthem. Lady Oakeley commenced the beautiful recitative, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people." She also opened the third part by singing, with "equal spirit and taste," the air: "Prophetic visions strike my eye." The Coronation Anthem was given in full chorus. "Thus," it is stated, "ended this august performance, executed in a style so masterly, and with so much zeal and ability, as reflected no less honour on those who patronized, conducted, and supported it, than it

Painted by J. Barber. Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.

SIR CHARLES OAKELEY, BART.,

Governor of Madras, 1792-1794.

conveyed delight to those who heard it." The hostage sons of Tippoo Sultan and the Tanjore Heir Presumptive were among the auditors.

The sale of the tickets for this sacred concert realized about 1,000 pagodas, after all expenses had been paid; and a deputation of the Managers of the Asylum, composed of Colonel Brathwaite and six other gentlemen, waited upon Lady Oakeley, and presented her with an address, in which they offered her, on behalf of the Asylum, their cordial thanks for the service she had rendered to the institution by her encouragement of, and participation in, the concert. She gave them a reply in writing. Having acknowledged their politeness to herself, and her cordial appreciation of the assistance afforded by the ladies and gentlemen who had taken part in the performance, she expressed her "sincere wishes" for the permanent success of an institution "which reflects so much honour on the gentlemen who have the superintending and immediate care of the objects of its benevolence." The concert was repeated at St. Mary's Church on the 10th February, and the second performance went off even better than the first. Owing to more practice and greater confidence, the female voices "swelled the choral harmony with finer and fuller effect." The performance was again attended by the young Princes of Mysore and the Prince of Tanjore.

Towards the close of 1794 that Sir Charles Oakeley resigned the Governorship of Madras, and embarked for England. On reaching London he waited on the Court of Directors at the East India House. The following entry appears in the Court's Journal: "Resolved unanimously: 'That the thanks of this Court be given to Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart., for his conduct during the government of Fort St. George.' Whereupon Sir Charles was introduced into Court, and congratulated by the Chairman on his safe arrival, who communicated to him the foregoing Resolution."

He fixed his residence at the Abbey, Shrewsbury (the birthplace of Clive), in the parish of which his venerable father was incumbent, and among people with whom his

family had long been well acquainted; and he remained there until 1810, when he removed to the Palace, Lichfield. Sir William Pulteney offered to find him a seat in Parliament; but he declined the honour, partly because he did not consider his fortune adequate to allow of the increased expenditure that its acceptance would involve, but chiefly because he was disinclined to relinquish the prospect of spending the remaining years of his life in the pursuit of rural enjoyments and general knowledge. He was at one time spoken of as Governor General of India, but he at once intimated that he did not wish to return to that country in any capacity. Yet he continued to take a lively interest in the affairs of India, and he was consulted by politicians and others who had been denied the advantage which he had enjoyed of studying Indian affairs on the spot. The rapid advance in the civil charges of India often caused him concern; and in 1805 he pointed out, in a letter to Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, that the charges for the three Presidencies had risen from a total of £2,152,750 in 1793, to one of £3,779,976 in 1803. "What is most alarming," he observed, "in the view of our India establishments is, that they baffle all expectation and promise." How little he imagined that in the year 1904–1905 the revenue of British India would amount to £84,699,100, and the expenditure to £81,213,500. He returned with remarkable zest to the study of the classics, which he had been compelled to discontinue when he was a lad, and he derived much pleasure from making translations into English from Latin authors. He was especially partial to Tacitus, Sallust and Pliny. He was also a great reader of miscellaneous literature. At the momentous period when Napoleon was concentrating a vast army at Boulogne for the invasion—after the precedent of William the Norman—of England, Volunteer regiments were raised throughout the country, and a regiment of Volunteer Infantry was thus embodied at Shrewsbury, of which Sir Charles Oakeley was appointed Commandant. He held the command until the apprehension of invasion having been removed, his own and other Volunteer regiments were disbanded.

He was a man of strong religious convictions. He made it a rule to attend service at his parish church in Shrewsbury every Wednesday and Friday, as well as Sunday; and at Lichfield he was scarcely ever absent from the daily morning service in the Cathedral. He was benevolent and generous, and he took part in the management of infirmaries and schools for the poor. Having known Dr. Bell in Madras, and been impressed by that chaplain's educational experiments at the Military Male Asylum at Egmore, he endeavoured to assist in the introduction of the "Madras system" of education into England. He had been the projector in Madras of the Provident Civil Fund that was established for the benefit of all the Civil Servants in this Presidency, and he earnestly advocated the institution of a Clergy Provident Fund, on somewhat corresponding lines, in England. The latter Fund was established, under the auspices of the two Archbishops and other prelates, shortly after his death, "to aid the clergy in the education and settlement of their children, and to afford them an opportunity of securing a provision for themselves, and their wives and families, when more than ordinarily needed—in sickness, in old age, and at death."

At length Sir Charles Oakeley died at the Palace, Lichfield, on the 7th September, 1826, aged seventy-five. According to his desire he was buried at his birthplace, Ferton, Staffordshire, in a vault containing the remains of his mother (a daughter of Sir Patrick Strahan); and a monument was erected to his memory in Lichfield Cathedral, at the expense of his widow and children. This monument, designed by Sir Francis Chantrey, and surmounted by a portrait medallion, bears the inscription that is given overleaf:—

Sacred to the Memory of
SIR CHARLES OAKELEY, BARONET,
Second son of the Rev. William Oakeley,
Rector of Ferton, in this County, and Vicar of Holy Cross, Salop.
Born Feb. 27, 1751 ; Died Sept. 7, 1826.
His eminent services in India
During an eventful period of twenty-seven years ;
The signal proofs he gave of integrity, as well as talent
In the various Civil appointments which he held there ;
And more especially the effects of his administration, as

GOVERNOR OF MADRAS

Both in improving the condition of the Company's resources
And advancing the success of their arms ;
Obtained the tribute of public acknowledgement,
And the approbation of his Sovereign.
But chiefly precious to those who erect this monument
Is the remembrance of his private virtues,
And his character as a Christian.
Piety, Meekness, Simplicity, Benevolence,
These were the more memorable distinctions of his life.
They brought him "peace at the last,"
And are recorded by his surviving family
With humble gratitude to God
In whose hands he was the instrument for their good ;
And with perfect reliance on the blessed Word
Which forbids them to sorrow as without hope.

He was the father of eleven children, of whom ten survived him. His eldest son, Charles, second Baronet, who entered the Diplomatic Service, and was for a time a Secretary of Legation, married a French lady, by whom he had no male heirs. His second son, Henry, entered the Bengal Civil Service, became Judge of Moorshedabad, and predeceased his elder brother. His third son, Herbert, born in Madras in 1791, became the third Baronet. He entered the Church, and became Archdeacon of Chichester. He compiled in 1829, for private circulation, a brief account of his father's services, which he inscribed to his mother, "who," he said, "during a union of nearly half a century, possessed most deservedly the entire affection and esteem of him whose character it illustrates." To this memoir, a copy of which is in the British Museum, I am indebted for most of the

information contained in the preceding pages. Sir Herbert's eldest son, Sir Charles W. Atholl Oakeley, for some time in the Bengal Cavalry, is the present Baronet; and his second son, the late Sir Herbert Oakeley, LL.D., was Emeritus Professor of Music in the University of Edinburgh. Frederick, the youngest son of the Governor, had a distinguished career at Oxford, where he became a Fellow of Balliol. He took Holy Orders in the Church of England; but in 1827 he seceded to the Church of Rome, and was ordained. He became a Canon of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster, a position that he held for thirty years, and died in 1880, aged seventy-eight. He was a prolific author of letters, pamphlets and books on devotional and theological subjects, and the British Museum contains as many as forty-three of his productions.

It was doubtless immediately after Earl Cornwallis, as he then was, concluded the famous Treaty with Tippoo, and secured Madras temporarily against further trouble from Mysore, that the official and unofficial European inhabitants of Madras set on foot the movement for raising a memorial to his honour in the Fort. He resigned the Governor-Generalship in October, 1793, and returned home. The subscriptions for the memorial were eventually remitted to London, and somebody was authorized to negotiate with a sculptor for the production of a statue of his Lordship. Then it was that the services of Thomas Banks were enlisted—a sculptor who, according to Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first President of the Royal Academy, was "the first of his country to produce works of classic grace."[1] The Cornwallis statue represents the Marquis standing, wearing Military uniform, over which are shown the robes of his rank in the Peerage. The right hand is extended, and the Marquis's arms, coronet, and

[1] The Banqueting Hall, Madras, contains a life-size portrait of the Marquis Cornwallis that was painted by Robert Home in 1792, and acquired by public subscription. The portrait by Copley, which has been reproduced for this volume, was painted for the Corporation of the City of London, and is preserved at the Guildhall.

trophies are shown at the side. The pedestal shows figures of Britannia and Victory, and also a bas-relief representing the reception by the Marquis as hostages of the two sons of Tippoo Sultan. The front of the pedestal bears this inscription—

This Statue
Is erected by a General Vote at the Joint Expense
Of The Principal Inhabitants of Madras,
And of the Civil and Military Servants
Of the East India Company
Belonging to the Presidency of Fort St. George
As a General Testimony
Of the High Sense they entertain of the Conduct and Actions of
The Most Noble

THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS

During the Time he held the High Offices of
Governor-General
And Commander-in-Chief of All the Forces
In India.

Early in May, 1800, the following Notification appeared over the signature of "M. Turing, Aide-de-Camp," in the Madras *Gazette*—

The Right Hon'ble the Governor desires the attendance of His Majesty's and Hon'ble Company's servants, and of the other principal inhabitants of the Settlement, on the parade of Fort St. George, at a quarter before 6 o'clock on the morning of the 15th instant, being the anniversary of the memorable victory gained under the walls of Seringapatam, in the year 1791, by the Most Noble the Marquis Cornwallis, whose statue, voted as a testimony of the gratitude and respect of the Settlement for his eminent public services, and now erecting on the parade of Fort St. George, will on that day be completed.

A breakfast will be prepared in the Exchange, at which the Right Hon. the Governor requests to be honoured with the company of the ladies and gentlemen who may be present on the occasion.

In accordance with this Notification Lord Clive, accompanied by his personal Staff, and escorted by his Body Guard, arrived at the Parade Ground at the time mentioned, and was received by Vice-Admiral Rainier, by the Recorder, and by the principal Officers of the Company's Naval, Military, and Civil Services; but Major-General (afterwards Lord)

Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, was prevented by indisposition from being present. The troops in garrison, commanded by Brigadier General de Meuron, had formed up within the square of the parade ground, and when the statue was unveiled by the Governor they presented arms, while the drums beat a march, and a salute of honour was fired from the Saluting Battery. Doubtless the Governor made a speech appropriate to the occasion, but if so, it was not reported by the Press, or placed on official record. Suffice it to know that the ceremonial concluded with the troops marching past the Governor and statue in subdivisions. Then His Excellency and the ladies and gentlemen walked across to the Exchange, and breakfast was served in the Long Room. "The attendance of ladies and gentlemen, as well on the parade as in the houses, balconies and terraces of the square was"—according to the *Asiatic Register*—"unusually numerous, and the concourse of the natives was proportionally great. . . . It was gratifying to observe that absence, and an interval of several years had not diminished that sentiment of affectionate veneration which peculiarly attaches to the character of the noble Marquis, and which in this Settlement will long accompany the remembrance of his public and private virtues." Doubtless Lord Clive made another speech, if he did not reserve his remarks for the dinner that he gave to a numerous company in the evening, when many toasts were drunk with customary honours.

Much had been seen in Madras of Lord Cornwallis in 1790 and 1791, when he sojourned in the Fort both on his way from Calcutta to Seringapatam and on his triumphant return; and it was but natural, as he was a man endowed with engaging manners, and readily accessible, that the "universal sentiment of the day" in Madras was that "few living characters have ever been so sincerely or so justly honoured" as he was. This was the more creditable to the people of Madras, since Lord Cornwallis had resigned the Governor-Generalship seven years before the statue was erected, and memories in India of satraps who have passed away are apt to be short. Moreover, the Earl of Mornington had appeared on the scene

in 1798, and had stayed some time in Madras in 1799, both before and after the fall of Seringapatam, and the death of Tippoo Sultan. Lord Mornington (now created Marquis Wellesley) had thus eclipsed the Marquis Cornwallis. For all that Madras cherished a kindly and grateful recollection of the latter while paying all respect to the former.

In an unwise moment Lord Cornwallis agreed, in 1805, when he was sixty-six years of age, to again accept the offer of the Governor-Generalship, and to proceed a second time to India. He must have embarked at Plymouth in H.M.S. *Medusa* only a few days after the death of Banks, the sculptor. He called at Madras on his way up the Bay of Bengal, in order to see Lord William Bentinck, the Governor. The *Medusa* anchored in the Roads on the 6th of May, and early the following morning the Governor-General Designate landed under the usual salute, at the Sea Gate of Fort St. George, where he was met by the Governor, the Members of Council, the Heads of Departments, and the principal inhabitants of the Presidency. The troops formed a street from the Sea Gate, and received him with full military honours. An address bearing 214 signatures was then presented. It was as follows—

My Lord,—We the undersigned, inhabitants of Madras, beg leave to offer to your Lordship our most sincere congratulations on your Lordship's safe arrival in India to take upon yourself again, at this momentous period, the government of these valuable possessions. The signal advantages which the British Empire derived from the justice, wisdom, and moderation that so conspicuously characterised your Lordship's former Administration, are impressed on the minds of all, and, while we admire the pure and exalted patriotism which has impelled your Lordship to undertake the arduous duty committed to your charge, and to sacrifice to the public good that repose to which a life spent in the highest offices and most important duties of our country had afforded so just a claim, we cannot suppress the effusions of gratitude to our most gracious Sovereign for his parental interest in the welfare and happiness of his loyal and faithful subjects in India, evinced by his selecting for this great trust a nobleman of your Lordship's transcendent talents and virtue. Actuated by these feelings we approach your Lordship with the expression of our unfeigned respect, and of our most ardent wishes for the continued honour and prosperity of your Lordship's Government.

In reply Lord Cornwallis said—

No circumstance could be more gratifying to my feelings than the assurance which you give me that my former endeavours to promote the welfare and prosperity of the valuable possessions of Britain in the East are still honoured with your favourable recollection. The only encouragement that I could have, at my advanced period of life, to undertake again the arduous task to which it has pleased His Majesty and the Honourable Company to call me, was founded on the hope that the principles by which my former conduct was uniformly regulated would not yet be forgotten, either by the subjects of Britain, or by the Native Princes or Powers of Hindustan.

It is probable that when he made this speech—the only speech ever delivered in Madras by a Knight of the Garter,[1] not of the blood Royal—Lord Cornwallis stood in front of the statue of himself that then occupied, as it still does, the most important place on the parade ground of Fort St. George. Afterwards he re-embarked, and continued his journey to Calcutta. On the 5th of October following he died at Ghazeepore, in the province, as it was then called, of Benares, where he had arrived on his progress to assume the personal command of the Army. The Government of Fort William, in announcing the event with "sentiments of the deepest sorrow and regret," stated that during a long and active life he had "manifested all the energies, combined with all the virtues which can dignify exalted public station, and adorn the sphere of private life. As a patriot, a statesman, a warrior, and a man, the character of Marquis Cornwallis shines with distinguished lustre. History will record his magnanimity, his benevolence, his love of justice, his inflexible integrity, his ardent valour, his wise and pru-

[1] Shortly after his departure from England to assume for the first time the office of Governor-General of India, Lord Cornwallis was created a Knight of the Garter; and writing in December following from Calcutta to his son, Lord Brome, he said: "You will have heard that I was elected a Knight of the Garter, and you may very likely have laughed at me for wishing to wear a blue riband on my fat belly. But I can assure you, upon my honour, that I neither asked for it, nor wished for it. The reasonable object of ambition for a man is to have his name transmitted to posterity for eminent services rendered to his country and mankind. Nobody asks or cares whether Hampden, Marlborough, Pelham, or Wolfe were Knights of the Garter."

dent policy as eminently worthy of imitation and of praise." The observance of general mourning for three months was ordered.

The news of the death of Lord Cornwallis did not reach Madras until the 31st October, and Lady William Bentinck immediately postponed the ball which it had been her intention to have given on the evening of that day. On the following morning the flag of Fort St. George was hoisted half-mast high; and in the evening minute guns, sixty-six in number, corresponding with the age of the deceased Governor-General, were fired from the saluting battery of the Fort, and from the flagship of Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew. On Sunday morning, the 3rd November, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor; Admiral Sir Edward Pellew; General Sir John Craddock, the Commander-in-Chief; and the civilian members of the Madras Council met at the Council Chamber in the Fort, and walked thence, in procession, to the church, where Lady William Bentinck, Lady Theodosia Craddock, and the Hon'ble the Mrs. Strange already occupied seats set apart for the family of the Governor. The Chaplain preached from the text 2nd Chronicles, 25th chapter, 24th verse: "And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah."

Meanwhile, a requisition had been addressed to Mr. John Oakes, the Sheriff, by numerous gentlemen, including General J. Pater, Colonel T. A. Agnew, and Mr. W. Balfour, to convene a meeting of the "British Inhabitants of Madras to consider the proper measures to be taken for erecting a Cenotaph to commemorate the virtues and patriotism of the late venerable and Most Noble, Charles, Marquis Cornwallis." The meeting was held at the Exchange in the Fort, on the 5th, and the Sheriff having been voted to the chair, made an appropriate speech, and called upon Mr. B. Roebuck—father of the famous "Tear 'em," M.P. for Sheffield, who was born in Madras—to move the first resolution, which was as follows:—

That a Cenotaph be erected to the memory of Marquis Cornwallis, by whose splendid victories and superior wisdom the British

C. Rossi, R. A., Sculptor. From a drawing by H Corbould.

THE CORNWALLIS MONUMENT IN ST. PAUL'S.

possessions in the East have been eminently benefited ; whose political morals have been as strongly marked by their purity as the whole of his conduct through life has been uniformly distinguished by his patriotism and virtue ; and who, at that period of existence when most men retire from the fatigues of public business, sacrificed the remains of his valuable life in this distant and exhausting climate, to the calls of his King and country.

The resolution was unanimously adopted ; a subscription list was opened ; a Committee was elected ; and, ere long, the Cenotaph was erected on the Mount Road, a little beyond Teynampett, on the way to St. Thomas's Mount. It was recently removed to where it now stands, opposite the Presidency Post Office.

In one of the two grand staircases at the India Office there are four noble white marble statues (to which reference has been made on a previous page), that were brought from the old India House in Leadenhall Street. They are of the famous brothers Wellesley and Wellington on the right, and Cornwallis and Eyre Coote on the left. Lord Cornwallis is represented in Roman costume, holding a sheathed sword in the left hand, and the olive branch of peace in the outstretched right hand, with, at his feet, a cornucopia, from which an abundance of Indian fruits is pouring forth. The statue of Cornwallis by John Bacon was obtained by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to mark its sense of his "uncommon zeal and ability," and it was originally placed in the General Court Room in order that "his great services may be ever had in remembrance."

A yet more important memorial of the Marquis Cornwallis is that which was erected by the nation on the east side of the south transept of St. Paul's Cathedral, London immediately opposite a similar national memorial, also in white marble, of Admiral Lord Nelson. The Marquis is represented attired in his robes as a Knight of the Garter, and holding a scroll in his right hand, standing on the summit of an ornamental truncated column, beside which stands a female figure, representing India, while on the left hand there is a seated figure of Britannia (holding a spear in the right, and a shield in the left hand), and on the right side

is a seated male figure, which Charles Rossi, R.A., the sculptor, intended to represent "Bagareth, one of the great rivers of India," holding in the right hand a small effigy "seated on a fish and a calabash," symbolical of the Ganges, "the right branch of the Bagareth." The inscription on the base is as follows :—

TO THE MEMORY OF
CHARLES MARQUIS CORNWALLIS,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF BENGAL,
WHO DIED 5TH OCTOBER, 1805, AGED 66, AT GHAZEEPORE, IN THE PROVINCE OF BENGAL,
IN HIS PROGRESS TO ASSUME THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY IN THE FIELD.
THIS MONUMENT
IS ERECTED AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE,
IN TESTIMONY OF HIS HIGH AND DISTINGUISHED CHARACTER,
HIS LONG AND EMINENT PUBLIC SERVICES BOTH AS A SOLDIER AND A STATESMAN,
AND THE UNWEARIED ZEAL WITH WHICH HIS EXERTIONS WERE EMPLOYED
IN THE LAST MOMENTS OF HIS LIFE
TO PROMOTE THE INTEREST AND HONOUR OF HIS COUNTRY.

Lord Brome succeeded his father as Marquis, Earl, and Baron Cornwallis, and also as a Baronet. He died in 1827, without issue, whereupon the Marquisate, created by George the Third in 1792, became extinct ; but the Earldom created by George the Second in 1753, the Barony created by Charles the Second in 1661, and the Baronetcy created by James the First in 1627, devolved upon the aged James Cornwallis, who had then been Bishop of Lichfield forty-two years. The Bishop died in 1828, and was succeeded by his son. The latter married three times, but he died in 1852 without issue, and the whole of the family honours then became extinct.

Painted in Madras, by Robert Home. Engraved by Jas. Heath

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY, K.G.,

Governor-General of India, 1798-1805.

CHAPTER VII

WELLESLEY AND WELLINGTON

In the course of researches among the multitudinous manuscripts preserved for the nation in the British Museum, I happened to come across a letter-book of Colonel Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) containing copies —in a bold, clear handwriting, similar to, but not identical with his—of eighty-eight letters, which he wrote between the 7th and 22nd May, 1800, from Seringapatam (he being then thirty-one years of age) to military officers, secretaries to the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, the Military Board in Madras, etc. The book has a table of contents which, according to the experts in caligraphy at the British Museum, is unquestionably in his own handwriting If so, it is but another illustration of the love of order, and the excellent business habits of the "Iron Duke" from the beginning to the end of his career. Only three of these letters were produced in the "Indian Despatches" which were compiled, edited, and published, with his approval, by Colonel Gurwood, "Esquire to his Grace as Knight of the Bath." Consequently, as many as eighty-five of them may be regarded as "something new under the sun."

It may be well to recall that the Duke was the third son of the first Earl of Mornington,[1] a nobleman who, except

[1] According to Sir George Grove's *Dictionary of Music* Lord Mornington displayed capacity for music at a very early age. With little or no assistance from masters he learned to play on the violin and organ, and to compose; and when, with the view of improving himself in composition, he consulted Roseingrave and Geminiani, they informed him that he already knew all they could teach him. The University of Dublin conferred upon him the degree of Mus. Doc., and elected him professor of that faculty in 1764. He held it

in regard to music, resembled the father of Napoleon in being a person of no particular ability. He was born, as also was Napoleon, in the year 1769. His mother, like "Madame Mère," the mother of Napoleon, was a strong-minded lady.[1] He was educated, after the lax fashion of the time, at Chelsea, Eton and Angers, without the aid of crammers, or fear of examiners. At the age of seventeen a commission was obtained for him as Ensign in the 41st Foot. His family influence stood him in such good stead that he was promoted in nine months to Lieutenant; in three and a half years more to Captain; and in two years more to Major; and shortly afterwards to Lieutenant-Colonel. At the age of twenty-seven he was full Colonel. He did not, however, remain with the

until 1774. His compositions are chiefly vocal; some are for the Church, copies of which are said to exist in the choir of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. His chant in E is universally known. But it was as a glee composer that he excelled. He gained prizes from "The Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club" in 1776 and 1777 for two catches, and in 1779 for his popular "Here in Cool Grot!" He published a collection of "Six Glees," and John Sale included three others with those of his own. Nine glees, three madrigals, an ode, and ten catches by him are contained in Warren's collections and several glees in Horsley's "Vocal Harmony." A complete collection of his glees and madrigals, edited by Sir H. R. Bishop, was published in 1846. The Duke of Wellington appears to have inherited some musical taste from his father. Sir Herbert Maxwell states that "when serving in India he used to play a great deal on the violin, until, according to Croker, it occurred to him that it was not a very soldierlike accomplishment, and he consigned the instrument to the flames."

[1] The Countess of Mornington, eldest daughter of the first Viscount Dungannon, was born in 1742, six years before Madame Buonaparte, the mother of Napoleon; and, having survived her husband (who died in 1781) fifty years, she died in 1831, in her ninetieth year, five years before Madame Buonaparte, who survived her husband fifty-one years, and died in 1836, in her eighty-ninth year. It is believed that she disliked her son Arthur, as a boy, because of his slow, thick speech and dull manner, which gave him an air of stupidity; and, according to her daughter-in-law (wife of the third Earl of Mornington, elder brother of the Duke), who lived until 1851, she was wont to say in the fashion then habitual among fashionable ladies: "I vow to God I don't know what I shall do with my awkward son Arthur."

41st Foot, for he served successively with the 12th Dragoons, the 76th Foot, the 18th Light Dragoons, and lastly with the 33rd Foot, of which he received the command, and with which he was identified until the end of his life. In 1794 he saw a little active service in the Netherlands with H.R.H. the Duke of York's ill-starred expedition, and he had abundant opportunity then to observe how things should not be done in the field. In 1796 the 33rd was ordered to Bengal. He was prevented by ill-health from accompanying the Regiment to the Cape; but he caught it up there by a later vessel, and he conducted it thence to Calcutta, where his eldest brother, the Earl of Mornington, shortly afterwards arrived, and assumed charge, as successor to the Marquis Cornwallis, as Governor-General.

In the autumn of 1798 Colonel Wellesley obtained leave of absence from Bengal in order to pay a visit to his friend Robert, Lord Hobart, son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who was on the point of leaving Madras. Lord Hobart was a widower. He was married in 1792, and arrived in Madras, with Lady Hobart, in 1794. On the 28th November, 1795, the *Madras Courier* published the following intimation: "On Sunday afternoon, at Government Garden House, Lady Hobart of a son." But the *Courier* was misinformed as to the sex of the infant, for the child was a girl, though the paper made no subsequent correction of its mistake. The child grew up, married the Earl of Ripon, and became the mother of the present Marquis. Lady Hobart died in Madras in August, 1796, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, not far from the chancel where, in 1875, her husband's grand-nephew, Vere Henry, Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, was interred. (Lord Ripon, her grandson, visited the church in 1883, during his Viceroyalty, to see her grave.) It was two years after her death that Lord Hobart was recalled by the Court of Directors, who had taken umbrage at his failure to enlarge their authority; but soon after his return home he was granted a pension by the Company of £1,500 a year, and was summoned, in his father's lifetime, to the House of Lords. In 1799 he married, as is mentioned

elsewhere, a daughter of the first Lord Auckland; but by her he had no issue. He succeeded his father as Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1804, and, dying in 1806, he was himself succeeded in that title by his nephew.

At the request of General Harris, who was commanding the Forces in Madras, Colonel Wellesley remained in Madras sufficiently long to enable him to witness the swearing in and installation of Edward, Lord Clive, as the new Governor of Fort St. George. That nobleman was the eldest son, born in Madras, of Robert, Lord Clive—the quondam "Writer" in the service of the East India Company at Madras, who became the "Clive" of history. He may have been a safe man in a period of profound tranquillity, but he was not qualified to deal with a great crisis. He was an amiable mediocrity. Colonel Wellesley was quick to see this, and, in a letter to his brother, Lord Mornington, the Governor-General, he said that "Lord Clive is a mild, moderate man, remarkably reserved, having a bad delivery, and apparently a heavy understanding. He certainly has been unaccustomed to consider questions of the magnitude that now appear before hlm, but I doubt whether he is as dull as he appears, or as people imagine he is." He co-operated with General Harris in efforts to lead the Governor to right conclusions; and he was able, a month later, to write to his brother Henry Wellesley, private secretary to the Governor-General, that Lord Clive "improves daily." At the same time "a violent or harsh word" from Calcutta "will spoil all. The conduct which I recommend is perfect confidence with him upon all subjects; and I would extend it to his Government, when it is safe to do so."

Meanwhile the Coast Army was being reinforced from Bengal in view of the impending campaign in Mysore, and His Majesty's 33rd Regiment was thus transferred to Madras. Colonel Wellesley deemed it prudent to urge the Governor-General to follow the reinforcements to Madras, and Lord Mornington immediately acted on that sagacious advice. The first issue of the *Madras Courier* for 1799 contained a long Proclamation, under date the 2nd January, by the

Governor in Council, of the arrival in Madras of the Governor-General. This Proclamation was made in conformity with the Act of Parliament of 1793, which provided that when the "Governor-General of Fort William" should find it expedient to visit the Presidency of Fort St. George, or that of Bombay, or any other Province in India, the "powers and authorities of the Governor, or Chief Officer, or officers of such Presidency or Province" shall, from the time of his arrival, "be suspended except with regard to judicial proceedings, and shall continue to be so suspended until other Proclamation be made by the Governor-General to the contrary." Consequently, as long as he cared to remain in such Presidency, or Province, the Governor-General was "invested with the power and authorities of the Governor in Council," and "also with the same ample powers and authorities, as can, or may be exercised by him as Governor-General in Council."

Lord Mornington was on excellent terms with Lord Clive, but he did not believe in two suns shining in the same hemisphere. The Mysore campaign was a very large and risky business in which grave inconvenience might have resulted from a division of counsels at head-quarters; and Lord Mornington was not the kind of man to brook interference from anybody, except his brother Arthur. Lord Clive was accordingly effaced for most intents and purposes during the eight months that Lord Mornington occupied Admiralty House in the Fort. It may have been a somewhat trying position for him to be Governor only in name; but it relieved him of much responsibility during an exceptionally anxious period; and he prudently accommodated himself to circumstances. Lady Mornington had not accompanied her husband to India, so Lady Clive's status in society in the Presidency was not affected by the Governor-General's presence.

One of the first acts of Lord Mornington, after he had superseded the Governor, was to cause Mr. J. Webbe, the Secretary to the Madras Government, to publish an advertisement setting forth that His Excellency "having urgent

occasion for carpenters and smiths for the completion of work, essentially necessary to be executed without delay," was "desirous that individuals may suspend all private works," and he accordingly "requires them to send the workmen in their private service to the Military Board." At the same time His Lordship undertook that the workmen so sent "will be returned to the persons who may have spared them for this public exigency as soon as it may be possible."

Lord Mornington held a review of the troops in garrison in Fort St. George on the 28th January, but the *Courier* omitted to give any information on the subject. It published, however, on the 6th February, a General Order, in which the Governor-General stated that it was with particular satisfaction that he expressed his approbation of the distinguished appearance of the Body Guard at that review. "The admirable discipline of this troop," he said in his stately manner, "the correctness of its manœuvres, and its perfection in the new sword exercise, exceeded the expectations which its long established reputation" had induced him to form before he arrived in Madras. He declared that "the utmost degree of credit is due to Captain Grant for having produced so striking an example of the perfection to which the Native Cavalry in the Honourable Company's Service may be brought by the diligence and attention of their officers."

The *Courier* gave no information of its own about the preparations that were made in Madras for the advance on Mysore, but at long intervals it was permitted to publish Despatches concerning the progress of the campaign that were addressed by General Harris to the Governor-General. At last, on the 15th May, it stated that the fall of Seringapatam had been announced to the public on the morning of the 11th by a Royal salute from the garrison, and from His Majesty's ship *Brave*; and that at sunset a Royal salute was fired at the Mount, at the Saluting Battery in Fort St. George, by the *Brave*, by the Honourable Company's ships, and by the private ships and vessels in the Roads.

A *feu-de-joie* was also fired by the troops in garrison, after which the whole of the guns mounted on the Fort walls and on the walls of Black Town were fired, "thus impressing on the mind and memory of every one who has the happiness to live under the British Government an heroic deed which reflects the highest honour on the British troops who so gallantly achieved it."

A week later the *Courier* published a G.O. by the Governor-General in Council in which he announced that he had received from General Harris details of the victory obtained at Seringapatam on the 4th May. He then offered his "cordial thanks and sincere acknowledgments to all the officers and men composing the Army which had achieved the capture of the city." He viewed with admiration, he said, "the consummate judgment with which the assault was planned, the unequalled rapidity, animation, and skill with which it was executed, and the humanity which distinguished its final success." He alluded to the substantial advantages that would result from the victory. Finally, he reflected with "pride, satisfaction, and gratitude" that in this arduous crisis "the spirit and exertions of our Indian Army have kept pace with those of our countrymen at home, and that in India, as in Europe, Great Britain has found in the malevolent designs of her enemies an increasing source of prosperity, fame and power."

On the 2nd June, Lord Mornington issued a Proclamation in which he announced that Lieutenant Harris, of His Majesty's 74th Regiment, having arrived in Madras from Seringapatam, in charge of the Standard of the late Tippoo Sultan, and also of the Colours of the French Corps in the service of Tippoo, he had appointed Tuesday, the 4th idem, the anniversary of the King's birthday, for the public reception in the Fort of that young officer, after which ceremony His Lordship would proceed to St. Mary's Church to "offer up in the most solemn manner, a public thanksgiving for the interposition of the good providence of Almighty God in the late signal and important success of our Armies in Mysore, by which the treacherous designs

SERINGAPATAM.

From a lithograph by Mauzaisse.

TIPPOO SULTAN.

of our enemies have been frustrated, and the British Possessions have been delivered from the peril of foreign invasion, and restored to a state of security and ease."

In obedience to this Proclamation, the Civil and Military officers of the Presidency met Lord Mornington, Lord Clive, and the principal officers of the Supreme and Local Governments in the square of the Fort at 5 in the morning of the 4th. His Majesty's 10th Foot, a part of the 51st Foot, and the Madras Militia, with their respective Bands, were paraded at the same place. At half-past 5 the Standard and the Colours, in charge of Lieutenant Harris, and guarded by the Grenadiers of the 10th, were brought into the square, and conducted to the spot where the Governor-General stood. His Lordship advanced a few steps to receive them, and, according to the *Courier*, "with a dignity not easily to be described, he laid his hand upon the Standard of the once haughty and perfidious Mysorean,[1] and by a firm and instant pressure bent it towards the earth." He then embraced Lieutenant Harris, and spoke a few words of congratulation to him. Then the Standard and Colours were carried into the church, and deposited in the chancel, while the Governor-General, the Governor, and the many officers who had been in the square took the seats assigned to them. Prayers were read by Archdeacon Leslie, and were brought to a termination by a thanksgiving composed for the occasion. At the conclusion of the service a Royal salute was fired from the Fort Battery; three volleys of musketry were fired by the troops on the Grand Parade; and a public breakfast was given by Lord Clive. The *Courier* remarked that "the Standard of Mysore is neither remarkable for its splendour of device or elegance of texture, being simply a flag of coarse red cotton cloth, ornamented with a white, radiated sun in the centre."

No time was lost in making the first division of prize money captured at Seringapatam. The fortress fell, as has been said, on May 4; and, on the 22nd idem, it was announced that the prize funds amounted so far to "Star Pagodas

[1] *See* Appendix VI.:—"A French View of Tippoo Sultan."

25 lakhs, 5,804, and have since been daily increasing." This sum was equivalent to about 88½ lakhs of Rupees. A first dividend was declared on the 26th June, and resulted in the award of the following sums as stated in Rupees. The Commander-in-Chief, "one eighth of the whole," or say Rs. 11 lakhs; Major-General Floyd, second-in-command Rs. 1¼ lakhs; General Officers on the Staff nearly Rs. 1 lakh each; Colonels Rs. 37,000; Lieutenant-Colonels Rs. 23,000; Majors Rs. 13,000; Captains and Surgeons Rs. 7,500; Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons Rs. 3,800; Quarter-masters Rs. 1,300; Sergeant-Majors Rs. 190; Sergeants Rs. 126; Corporals Rs. 63; Commandant Subadars Rs. 370; Jemadars Rs. 126; Havildars Rs. 63; Naigues, Sepoys, Gun Lascars, Pioneers, Black Doctors, Puckallys, Trumpeters, Drummers and Fifers Rs. 42 each.

A requisition, signed by many European inhabitants of Madras, having been made to him, the Sheriff of Madras convened a Public Meeting at the Exchange in the Fort, on the 26th June, for the purpose of adopting an Address to the Governor-General with respect to "the late glorious and unexampled successes" at Seringapatam. The Sheriff opened the proceedings, and Major-General Ross was voted to take the chair. He explained the object of the meeting, and called upon Mr. Roebuck, who delivered an animated speech, and concluded by moving that an Address should be presented to the Governor-General expressing the high sense which the meeting entertained of the "brilliant, unexampled, and incalculable advantage derived to them by the wisdom of His Lordship's counsels, and the energy of his measures." This motion having been carried unanimously, a Committee was formed to prepare the Address. The Committee then retired to an adjoining room, prepared the Address, and returned with it to the hall. The draft was thereupon "read, put, and carried." It was placed for signature in the Exchange, and was signed by nearly two hundred European inhabitants, commencing with Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice, and including such familiar Madras names as Chamier, Oakes, Sullivan,

Kindersley, Sewell, Chase, Binny, Gordon, Parry, Dent, Arathoon, Branson, Franck, Clarke, Underwood, Barclay, Goldingham, Shaw, etc.

The Address was presented to Lord Mornington, at Admiralty House on the 3rd July. The Committee appointed for the purpose was received by His Lordship, who was accompanied by Lord Clive, the Members of Council, General Stuart, etc. Mr. Oakes having read the Address, the Governor-General made a long reply, and employed the opportunity to offer his acknowledgments of the "honourable, generous, and disinterested support" that he had received from Lord Clive, and "the zealous co-operation of the Members of the Council, the Civil and Military officers throughout every branch and department of this Government," etc. He concluded by saying that "with such an union of loyalty and public spirit we may confidently expect to counteract every device and machination of our enemies; to detect their intrigues; to disappoint their treachery; to repel their violence; and to perpetuate the British Empire in India on solid foundations of Humanity and Valour, Justice and Power."

On the 2nd September Lord Mornington held a farewell Levée at Admiralty House, at 11 in the morning, and afterwards gave private audience to gentlemen who desired the honour until 3 p.m. Then, on the evening of the 5th, he left for Calcutta. The troops in garrison were formed into a street through which His Lordship, attended by Lord Clive and the principal Civil and Military officers at the Presidency, proceeded to the beach, where he was met by the Nawab of the Carnatic, of whom he took leave. He then embarked with the usual honours in the *Earl Howe*.[1] On the following

[1] The portrait of the Marquis Wellesley in Madras, of which a reproduction is given in this volume, was published as a steel engraving in 1804, by T. Daniell, of Howland Street, London. It is from a painting by James Home, the "place of origin" of which is demonstrated by the representation in the background of the spire and west end of St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George (consecrated in 1680, the oldest Anglican Church not only in Madras, but also in Asia). The artist was a son of Robert Boyne

morning Lord Clive issued a Proclamation in which, having recapitulated the contents of his previous Proclamation of the 2nd January, he proceeded to say that, the Governor-General having "found it expedient to depart," and having "actually departed" from the Presidency of Fort St. George, he, Lord Clive, had "in consequence, ordered and directed," that such departure should be publicly proclaimed, "and all persons are hereby strictly enjoined, and required, to take notice thereof, and to obey, for the time to come, Edward, Lord Clive, Governor in Council aforesaid." The same issue of the *Courier* contained an announcement that Lord Clive requested the gentlemen of His Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's Naval, Civil, and

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Home, Army Surgeon, of Greenlaw Castle, Berwick, and a brother of Edward Home, Sergeant Surgeon to the King, who was created a Baronet in 1808. He was a pupil of Angelica Kauffmann, R.A., and he studied subsequently at Rome. He worked for two years in Dublin; and then, proceediug to India, settled at Lucknow, where he secured lucrative employment as Chief Painter to the King of Oude. After some years he migrated to Mysore, and painted the well-known pictures of the "Reception of the Mysore Princes as Hostages by the Marquis Cornwallis," and "The Death of Colonel Morehouse at the Storming of Bangalore." He also published *Select Views in Seringapatam.* He died in India in 1836. He left two sons, who entered the Indian Army, and one of whom fell at the battle of Sobraon. It may be added that he was akin to the present Sir James Home, 11th Baronet, of Blackadder, Berwick, and also to the present Sir Anthony Home, K.C.B., V.C., some time Surgeon-General, British Medical Department, Madras. The Homes are descended from Sir David Home, of Wedderburn, who fell, with his eldest son, at Flodden, in 1513. In 1671, John Home, the head of the family, was created a Baronet of Scotland. The 8th Baronet was in the Civil Service of the East India Company, and, like the artist, died in 1836.

The Banqueting Hall, Madras, contains a life-size portrait of the Marquis Wellesley that was painted by Thomas Hickey, in 1800, and acquired by public subscription. The Marquis is represented seated in the verandah of Government House in Fort St. George, and a steeple in the background is evidently intended to represent the steeple of the Fort Church. The shrewd face and slight figure closely correspond with the portrayal of the Marquis by Home.

Military Services to honour him with their company at a Ball and Supper at the Garden House on the 9th, at 8.30 p.m., to meet Lieutenant-General Harris, on his safe return to Madras from the conquest of Mysore. It was also notified that he would hold a Levée at Admiralty House, on the 11th, at noon.

The same issue of the *Courier* contained the latest of the G. O.'s issued by the Governor-General in Council while in Madras. One of these had reference to the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel Barry Close to be Resident of Mysore, and his resignation of the office of Adjutant-General of the Army. Lord Mornington's hand can be readily discerned in the following gracious recognition of the services of Colonel Close—

> If it was possible for the Governor-General in Council to express in stronger terms than those he has already used his approbation of the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Close, His Lordship would on this occasion have again published to the Army his respect and esteem for that distinguished officer. But His Lordship trusts that his selection of Lieutenant-Colonel Close, for the arduous and extensive duty which has been committed to his care, will be received as sufficient testimony of the estimation in which His Lordship holds the extensive knowledge, correct judgment, and pure integrity of Lieutenant-Colonel Close.

At the same time Lord Mornington conferred the post of Adjutant-General upon Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew, Deputy Adjutant-General, " to reward his highly meritorious services " during the recent campaign, " as well as on other important occasions." His Lordship stated that he " felt a peculiar satisfaction in calling an officer of Colonel Agnew's distinguished abilities, integrity, and experience to the important and confidential post of Adjutant-General of the Army." The same *Gazette* contained the appointment of Captain John Malcolm to be British Envoy at the Court of Persia, one of the stepping-stones of that officer to the Governorship of Bombay.

Colonel Wellesley was now appointed head of the military and civil administration of Mysore, which was to remain

under British authority during the minority of the very young member of the family of the old Hindu dynasty who had been selected to become Rajah. Colonel Wellesley was then only thirty-one years of age, but he was worthy of the great responsibility. Indeed, he was to exemplify the truth of the rather bold assertion of Le Maistre: "*Qui n'a pas vaincu à trente ans ne vaincra jamais.*" But it was a heavy task that was set him. In the first place he had occasion to be much concerned about his want of troops to hold the newly-conquered country. "All our Corps," he remarked in a letter to Major-General Braithwaite, "are very weak, particularly in officers, and this is a subject which in my opinion has not been sufficiently adverted to, and is one of the most serious importance." He proceeded:—

It is well known that the exertions of a Native Corps depend almost entirely upon their officers, yet some of them have lately gone out with a Commanding Officer, and one, or at most two young men, just landed in the country, and there is not a larger number of officers with a majority of them. It is impossible to expect success when that is the case. There are in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, etc., many young men who have been brought out to this country by objects and pursuits of different kinds in which they have failed. These would be happy to enter the service as officers, and they would really be a valuable acquisition to it. It may be said that this will interfere with the patronage of the Court of Directors. But I can't see how that can be the case when they don't use their patronage to a sufficient extent; and, even if it did interfere with it, it is evident that the interference will have a consequence which will be beneficial to the public interests. If I could procure a public statement of the true cause of the failure at Arakeery I should certainly lay it before you, with a public representation of the want in the Army of officers. However, the fact is obvious, and it may be in your power to propose a remedy for it without such a statement.

In a letter to his intimate friend "My dear Munro"—then a Captain, but afterwards Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Bart., Governor of Madras—he said that "upon the whole we are not in the most thriving condition in this country":—

Poligars, Nairs and Moplahs in arms on all sides of us; an army of disaffection and discontent, amounting to the Lord knows what, on

the Northern frontier, which increases as it advances like a ball of snow. To oppose this we have nothing that ought to be taken from the necessary garrisons, and the Corps we have in them are incomplete in men, and without officers. If we go to war in earnest, however, (and if we take the field at all it ought to be in earnest), I will collect everything that can be brought together from all sides, and we ought not to quit the field as long as there is a discontented or unsubdued Poligar in the country.

On the 7th he reported to Colonel Close that Doondia had obtained possession of Dumbal in the same manner that he had seized Guduk, and that he was advancing with his whole force to Havanore, in the Savanore country, "about two coss from Oollah, but on the other side of the Toongabadra." On the 8th he received the orders of Government to collect all the troops which could be spared from the garrisons with a view to opposing Doondia. He then wrote to Colonel Sir William Clarke at Goa, to say that the weak state of the garrisons, and the general situation of affairs in Mysore, Malabar, and Kanara would prevent him from forming such a body of troops as he would like to see in the field. He accordingly asked him to spare a battalion of Native Infantry from Goa, to march at once by a route that he carefully indicated :—

I am fully aware of the extent to which I am weakening your post by these different calls upon it for assistance, without any special order from Government to authorise it. But I consider that the British troops were established at Goa for one of two purposes, or probably for both. They were intended as a defence for that place against any attempts which might have been made upon it by the French when established in Egypt, or they were intended as a means of influence at Goa, or both these objects might have been in view when they were sent there. The French have now evacuated Egypt, and even if they had not, it would not be very probable that they would make any attempt upon Goa during the monsoon. Therefore, as far as defence was the object, no inconvenience will be suffered by weakening your post ; and if the establishment of an influence there was looked to, the force which will still remain with you will be fully equal to that object, and to that of retaining at Goa the footing which we have got there. Upon the whole, then, I have no reluctance in calling upon you for assistance upon this occasion, and I have no doubt but that Government will approve of my asking, and of your granting it.

Sir William Clarke agreed to this well argued proposal. But he had no sooner done so than Colonel Wellesley was constrained by the urgency of his military requirements to ask him to spare a second battalion. Writing on the 15th he stated :—

The small body of troops which I have been able to collect for the service to the northward, and the probability, from intelligence lately received, that it will be desirable that a large body should be collected, induce me to call upon you for a second Native Battalion. . . . I need not now enter into a detail of those considerations which lead me to believe that your leaving Goa without a Native Battalion will not be attended with any inconvenience, as I entered fully into the subject in my letter of the 8th instant ; and, although the necessity of calling upon you for this second Battalion is much more urgent than that which induced me to call for the first, my ideas of the inconveniences to be apprehended from your sending it are precisely the same as when I wrote to you last.

Colonel Wellesley did not conceal his conviction that in the long run severity in war is good policy. Colonel Montresor was conducting operations for the pacification of Coorg, and in doing so he resorted to very drastic proceedings to suppress rebellion. To him Colonel Wellesley wrote :—

I received last night your letter of the 9th which has given me great satisfaction. It is a great object that we should establish a superiority which it appears you have done, and the burning of the houses which is to the full as disagreeable to the owners of them as it could be to ourselves, will show the inhabitants that rebellion is not passed over unnoticed, and will probably induce them to consider a little before they join the Poligar upon another occasion. The more deserted villages and forage you burn, and the more cattle and other property that are carried off the better ; and you will find that by these little expeditions the confidence of our Native Troops will be increased, and that of their opponents diminished in such a degree that your camp, etc., will be much more quiet, and your neighbourhood more open than it has been hitherto.

At this period Lieutenant-General (eventually Field-Marshal) Sir Alured Clarke was Commander-in-Chief in India. On the 11th May Colonel Wellesley brought the services of two officers to His Excellency's notice :—

The Officers in His Majesty's Service employed in this Country in a particular manner look up to you for favour and protection, and for a representation to His Majesty of the Services which they may have it in their power to perform, and it therefore becomes the duty of those under whose authority they may be employed to make known to you their merits when they have had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. I undertake this pleasing duty at present upon the subject of two Officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor of the 79th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cumine of the 75th, of whom similar reports have doubtless been made to you.

Colonel Wellesley then described the services rendered by those Officers in the Beil Country and in Kanara respectively, and added: "The detail of these affairs will probably reach you through another and a more regular channel; but it is but justice to the Officers above mentioned to make it certain that you should have a knowledge of their conduct." As regarded Colonel Montresor he related that he had "destroyed the fort, burnt the villages and magazines, which were in the forest in which it was placed, and dispersed the Poligar's adherents." Also, in a letter to Colonel Agnew, he alluded to Colonel Montresor having made some excursions towards the Bipelee ghaut, and to his having "burnt and destroyed everything that came in his way, I understand to the amount of about fifty villages, with forage, grain, etc., and he has carried off cattle." He also wrote to Captain Munro, and said—"Colonel Montresor has been very successful in Bulum, has beat, burnt, plundered and destroyed in all parts of the country."

A remarkable example of the sympathetic manner in which Colonel Wellesley recognised the ability, and stimulated the zeal of officers under his command is afforded by a long letter that he wrote, on the 14th May, to Captain Moncrieff, whom he addressed as "My dear Sir." He commenced that letter as follows:—

I this morning received your letter of the 6th instant, from which I derived much satisfaction, as I have from all your letters to Colonel Sartorious which he has regularly communicated to me. You are well apprised of the nature of all my plans in case of the projected warfare in the western side of the Peninsula being put in execution, and I am

sure there is no man more able and willing to make arrangements with a view to their success. What has been done is well calculated for that purpose, and what you propose equally so, and I acknowledge that although I don't now see a prospect of being able to put your works to the use for which they are intended, I should be glad that they were executed to the extent that may be practicable in this season. . . . I shall always be glad to hear from you how matters are going on in the countries below the ghaut in which you may be situated.

It is the conviction of Lord Roberts, who habitually put his theories on the subject into practice during his own brilliant career, that no Commander of Troops in India can hope to be successful unless he acquaints himself with every detail of his profession. "He must know not only how to manœuvre and fight, but how to feed and clothe his men, to arrange for their payment, to provide for the care of the sick and wounded, and to improvise means for overcoming the countless difficulties which are continually presenting themselves in the course of a campaign." These observations are made by Lord Roberts in his admirable monograph on the Duke of Wellington, with special reference to the Duke's habit of mastering detail. The Duke had no sympathy with the adage that a master mind doth not waste itself on detail, but he acted on the belief that "*labor omnia vincit*." He never, however, studied detail at the risk of neglecting more important claims on his attention. He was masterly in large as well as small things, and he set a salutary example by his own conduct to those under his command not to ignore, or slur over, what might at first sight have the appearance of being comparative trifles. It is said by Sir Herbert Maxwell in his biography of Wellington, that when Colonel Gurwood's edition of the Indian Despatches appeared the Duke read them with much interest, and expressed his surprise to find them "as good," he declared, "as I could write now." For "they show the same attention to details—to the pursuit of all the means, however small, that could promote success."

The Letter Book under notice abounds in illustrations of this striking characteristic of the Duke. Take the feeding of his troops, for example. This is what he wrote on the 11th May, 1801, from Seringapatam to Mr. G. H. Gordon:—

I have received the directions of the Military Board to desire that the captured paddy in store at Seringapatam may be beat into rice in such quantity as I may find necessary in order to answer any demands I may have occasion to make for the supply of the troops. As I cannot at present state what I shall want I have only to request that you will have the best of the captured paddy beat into rice, and that you will report to me every ten days the quantity of rice which shall be in store thus beat out.

Colonel Wellesley informed Colonel Stevenson—who was, presumably, in chief command at Chittledroog—of the instructions he had given to Mr. Gordon, and requested him to " make such an arrangement of your granaries, as that a place may be allotted both for the gram, and for the rice."

Then he took much interest in elephants as Transport animals, but he did not think it worth while to maintain a service of the camels that had, probably, formed part of Tippoo's military equipment. Writing to Captain Barclay, the officer in charge of these animals at Seringapatam, he said :—

I have to request (by desire of the Military Board) that you will dispose by auction of the Company's camels, excepting twelve which are to be retained in the service as Hucarrah Camels, and six, respecting the disposal of which I will state to you my wishes hereafter. You are to strike off the rolls of the elephants those which have been sent to Hyderabad, and you will dispose by auction of the old male unserviceable elephants, and all the young which are not fit for work excepting that which is white. I will give you further notice respecting them and the old unserviceable female elephants hereafter.

The reservation of the six camels above referred to was made by Colonel Wellesley in view to meeting a claim for that number of animals that had been made by " the family of the late Seyed Sahid." Writing to the Secretary of the Military Board, he observed :—

This claim I understand came before the late Commander-in-Chief, and I have reason to believe that he promised that the family should have the camels as soon as they should be no longer necessary for the service of the Army. It will be proper that his promise should be performed, and I shall be obliged to you if you will make me acquainted with the orders of the Military Board upon the subject. I have

likewise given directions that the old male, and the young elephants not fit for service, should be disposed of as directed by the Board, excepting a young white elephant which the Resident has requested may be presented to the Rajah. I shall be obliged if you will communicate to me the Board's orders upon this subject, as well as respecting the sale of the old female elephants which it is desirable to give to the Rajah's Government for the purpose of catching others.

He considered that arrangements were needed to secure an adequate supply of gram for the use of the horses in his force. In a letter to Major-General Braithwaite he remarked :—

What you mention about gram has quite surprised me, as I have never received from Chittledroog the slightest hint of a want of that article. In contemplation of a probability that it might not be so plentiful when the three Regiments should be assembled as I might wish, I made arrangements for sending to the northward a number of Brinjaries loaded with gram ; but as it is a gram country in general I never had an idea of a want much below scarcity. I rather imagine that what you have heard originated in my refusal to authorise such large advances to the Gram Agents as they asked for. They wanted a sum equal to about three months' expenditure. I consented that they should have one equal to that of one month, when they settled their account of the month preceding. They said that they could not purchase gram at so cheap a rate, etc., etc., unless they got the advance for which they asked, and I was at last obliged to tell them that if they were not satisfied with the sum advanced to them they must put on paper their objections to it, and that their representation should go before you. As I am convinced that Colonel Stevenson would not have concealed from me any scarcity in this article, I am induced to believe that the report of it is to be attributed to the circumstances above stated. I'll lay in a store of gram at Chittledroog at all events, as I am convinced we shall find it of the greatest use. As a proof that gram cannot have been very scarce, the price at Chittledroog has in general been about 40 seers for a rupee.

Colonel Wellesley was always a temperate man himself, and he had no sympathy with persons who were not similarly moderate in the use of stimulants. But he recognised the need of supplying the troops under his command with the country spirits to which they were accustomed. Accordingly, on the 7th May, he reminded the Military Board at Madras, that "it is very desirable that a supply of arrack should be sent to this country to last 2,500 troops six months." Of this

supply two-thirds, he suggested, should be sent to Seringapatam, and the remainder to Chittledroog. And on the same day he advised Major-General Braithwaite of what he had written to the Board.

He did all in his power to develop his Transport service, and he did not fail to perceive the importance of showing every reasonable consideration to cart maistries. Writing, on the 11th, to the Military Board ât Madras, he remarked:—

I have considered and made enquiry into the circumstances of the petition of the cart maistries which you enclosed. It is certainly true that the carts which brought the stores were on the road for a great length of time, as they did not arrive here till the 12th February. They were at Seringapatam till the 24th February, and the reason why they were not dismissed sooner was that the conductor was so drunk for several days as to be incapable of delivering the stores. The circumstances attending their being employed in the carriage of bricks are as stated in the enclosed paper. Many of the owners of the carts sold them to the maistries of this place, and they were hired by the Commissary of Supplies to carry provisions for the Troops at that time about to take the field. On their return to the Presidency they took from hence some old arms sent by order of the Military Board, and some tents for the 4th Regiment of Cavalry at Bangalore, and I believe that many of the carts were hired out to individuals.

Colonel Wellesley added in a postscript:—

Upon further enquiry into the complaints of the cart maistries, I find that they were dismissed by the Commissary of Stores on the 21st February, and that their stay here was on their own business. It appears clearly that they were paid for any extra labour which their carts performed.

It came under his notice that in order to complete the equipment of the Corps in Mysore, which he was preparing for active service, some "boys" (i.e. palanquin and dhooley-bearers) should be sent up from the Carnatic, as there were few bearers of the description required in the former country. The Mysorean "boys," he found, were but little accustomed to carry palanquins, or dhooleys, "their common occupation being that of ryots in the villages, and they were unwilling to leave their homes in order to follow the Troops in the field.

To take them from their present occupation will, besides, be attended with some inconvenience and loss to the country." Colonel Wellesley accordingly wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George to say:—"I shall, therefore, be obliged if you will lay my request before the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council that he will give directions that 600 dhooley boys may be sent to this country from Madras."

At this time Colonel Beresford (who eventually was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Beresford, for distinguished military services in the Peninsula), was appointed to the chief command in Malabar, and he wrote to Colonel Wellesley, at Seringapatam, proposing a meeting. The latter replied: "Although I should certainly be glad to see you, I don't see any necessity for desiring that you will undertake so long a journey at such an unseasonable period of the year as the present, in order that I may talk to you upon subjects which will be equally well explained by letter. Besides, I am about to take the field with the Troops, and even if it was absolutely necessary that we should have a meeting I should not know what place to propose for it. I have much business on my hands, and much to consider which I hope will plead my excuse for the shortness of this letter."

On the 20th May Colonel Wellesley delivered over the charge of the garrison at Seringapatam to Lieutenant-Colonel Saxon, and wrote:—"I feel perfectly confident that everything will go on as usual." He recommended Colonel Saxon "to keep the guards as they are, if not to increase them a little during the Mohurram by adding a picket of Europeans to the Main Guard. During that period also it will be necessary to shut the gates at an early hour, to have frequent patrols through the streets to prevent the procession of tom-toms, and in short, no ceremony or anything must be permitted which was not allowed in the time of the Sultan." The Cutwal would wait upon Colonel Saxon with his daily report, and receive orders upon it. "He requires some looking after, but I don't believe him to be worse than any other who must be employed in his place if he is dismissed from his office,

and he knows his business, which is a great reason for keeping him."

The operations against Dhoondra resulted in his defeat and death, and the dispersion of his followers. Colonel Wellesley spent the greater part of the years 1802 and 1803 at Seringapatam, and was engrossed during that time in the direction of the local administration. In the autumn of 1803 operations were resumed, under his command, against the Mahrattas, and, on the 23rd September, he fought and won the decisive battle of Assaye. He spent the following eleven months in the Bombay Presidency, chiefly at Poona; and, being then summoned to Calcutta, to consult with the Governor-General, he proceeded from Poona to Seringapatam, and thence to Madras, where he embarked for Bengal. He remained a short time in Calcutta, and then returned once more to Seringapatam, where he remained until February, 1805, when he returned for the last time to Madras.

He remained seven weeks in Madras, and wrote several despatches during that period, all of which were addressed as from "Fort St. George." Lieutenant-General Sir John Craddock, K.C.B., was Commander-in-Chief, and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B. (as he had now become), applied to him for leave to go to England. Sir Arthur made a similar application to Lord William Bentinck, the new Governor-General, and resigned all appointments and offices which he held in the Army serving under His Lordship's Government, including that of Major General of the Staff. He had put in eight years of continuous service in India, and he considered, as he wrote to a friend, that:—"I have served as long in India as any men ought who can serve anywhere else, and I think there appears a prospect of service in Europe in which I should be more likely to get forward."

On the eve of his embarkation he received an Address from the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, in the course of which they said:—

Gratitude for the tranquillity, security, and happiness we have enjoyed under your auspicious protection since this country was thrown by Divine Providence under the just and pacific waving banners of

the Hon'ble Company ; respect for the brilliant exploits you have achieved, which strengthened the foundations of that tranquillity ; and reverence for your benevolence, glow all at once in our hearts with such force, that we are unable to find language sufficient to express our feelings and regret on the occasion of your departure. We pray to God to grant you health, and a safe and pleasant voyage to Europe ; but we earnestly hope, and look with anxiety for the period of your speedy return to this country, once more to extend and uphold that protection over us which your extensive local knowledge of our customs and manners is so capable of affording.

In his acknowledgment, under date Fort St. George, 4th March, 1805, of the receipt of this "affectionate address" Sir Arthur Wellesley stated that he was "much gratified by the proof which it affords ,that my endeavours to extend to you the benefits to which the subjects of the Honourable Company residing at Seringapatam are entitled, under the existing regulations, have been successful, and that you are fully impressed with the advantages of your situation." He added that he would "not cease to feel the most lively interest in everything which concerns you."

The "Officers Present at the Headquarters of the Division of the Army" lately commanded by him, also presented an address, dated Seringapatam, 27th February, 1805, in which they said that they had "heard with unfeigned regret" of his intended embarkation to England ; they touched upon his "exalted talents and splendid achievements" ; his "consideration and justice in command, which has made obedience a pleasure" ; and his "frank condescension in the private intercourse of life." They would follow, they said, his career with the sincerest good wishes ; and they begged him to accept "our most respectful but cordial farewell." Sir Arthur Wellesley in his reply, under date Fort St. George, 8th March, 1805, said he was "much flattered" by this expression of regret on the occasion of his departure ; and having referred to the eventful period that had passed since he was appointed to the command at Seringapatam ; and having alluded to the "discipline and good order of that garrison and the efficiency of the public departments," he concluded by saying that he would "always be interested in the welfare

Painted in India, by Robert Home. Engraved by C. Turner.

MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON'BLE SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY, K.B,

On the Staff, Madras, 1802 to 1805.

of Officers, with whose conduct in their several public capacities I have so much reason to be pleased, and in whose private society I have enjoyed so much satisfaction."

He also received an Address from the "European Inhabitants and Native Officers of the Presidency of Fort St. George," in which he was requested to "allow them to possess your picture, for the purpose of its being placed in the Exchange Room at this Settlement, among the portraits of illustrious characters which already adorn its walls." He replied at considerable length; and concluded by saying: "I shall have great pleasure, Gentlemen, in complying with your desire, and I consider myself to be highly honoured by being numbered among those who have been deemed by you to be worthy of this mark of your approbation by the services they have rendered to their country in this part of India."[1] Finally he

[1] A life-size portrait was painted by John Hoppner, R.A., in 1807, and acquired by public subscription in Madras in 1808. It is thus described by Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. Love, R.E., in his valuable *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras*: "The General stands bareheaded in the open, fronting the spectator, his face turned somewhat to the left, and his eyes glancing still further in that direction. His right hand holds his plumed cocked hat. His smooth, youthful face is of pleasing contour and healthy colour, the mouth and chin well and firmly cut. He has good eyes and eyebrows, and abundant brown hair inclining to grey. His face wears a singularly calm and confident expression, notwithstanding that his grey charger, which is of conventional pattern, and which possesses an off fore-leg of amazing length, plunges wildly close behind him. A turbaned syce, whose features bear no trace of the Oriental, clings to the bridle. Mr. Arthur Wellesley wears the uniform of a Major-General: a double-breasted scarlet coatee, epauletted and closely buttoned, with blue collar and cuffs. The collar is slightly open, displaying a white cravat above. There are four gold embroidered chevrons on the sleeves, arranged in pairs. Across his right shoulder passes the broad ribbon of the Bath, and the star of the Order is on his left breast. He wears white pantaloons and black hessians, and has a crimson waist sash, which partly conceals a narrow red leather sword-belt, with slings of the same colour. This is one of the few youthful portraits of Arthur Wellesley extant. There is an earlier one, also by Hoppner, representing him as a Lieutenant-Colonel; and one by Home in Government House, Calcutta."

A swantype reproduction of a mezzotint copy of the picture by Home is given on the opposite page.

issued a General Order, in which he took leave of "the Officers and Troops with whom he had served so long." He embarked on board H.M. Ship *Trident*. Writing from sea on the 29th March he said that, "we have had very fine weather ever since we left Madras"; but he was very sea-sick; "otherwise," he added, "I am very comfortable, and in good health." The great Duke was, therefore, as Lord Roberts is known to be, a bad sailor. So also, strange to say, was Lord Nelson, for a short time after returning to his ship from a rest ashore.

In addition to the varied military experience that he had acquired in India the distinguished passenger took home with him the Indian habit of early rising which he never relinguished during the remainder of his long life. This is what is said on the subject by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, M.P., in his biography of the Duke:—

He was born in that rank of life the members of which usually wait to begin their daily amusements, or business, till the world has been aired and warmed for them, till carpets have been swept, morning papers laid out, and a variety of other trivial offices performed, the sum of which insensibly becomes essential to what most of us set greatest store by—comfort. To secure this well-to-do people are generally content to surrender to the majority of their fellow-creatures a start of about three hours each day—a sacrifice confirmed into invincible habit by the accumulated sanction of generations. The world at large loses nothing by lazy people lying in bed; idle folk out of the way are at least out of mischief. But Wellington, setting no store by comfort, knew that to get through his work would take all the time he could give to it; so he rose at six every morning, thereby adding three hours to each working day. Think what this daily increment amounted to from the time he went to India, for there is no evidence to show that he practised early rising before that period. Three hours a day for fifty-five years (allowing for leap years) amount to 61,359 hours—2,556 days—almost exactly seven years of wakefulness, and, constituted as he was, of activity, filched from fashion, and added to his life—undoubtedly a large factor in the volume of his life-work, even if the quality thereof be attributed entirely to his intellectual powers. The greater part of those wonderful despatches, much also of his private correspondence, was penned before most of the writer's friends had left their breakfast tables.

It may consequently be assumed that alike at Apsley House, Hyde Park, and at Strathfieldsaye, Hampshire, it

was characteristic of the Duke to "rise with the lark." And doubtless he spent many an early morning, busily engaged, in the study on the west side of the hall of the palatial residence in London which was given to him by the nation. That study is now the repository of a very large number of pictures, banners, collars, stars, garters, badges, medals, caskets, presentation swords, plate, books, and parchments that belonged to, and are closely identified with, the career of the quondam Colonel in Madras, who became Prince of Waterloo, Duke of Wellington, Duque da Vittoria, Marquez de Torres Vedras, Marquis of Douro, Earl of Wellington, Earl of Mornington, Conde de Vimiero, Viscount Wellesley, Viscount Talavera, Baron Mornington, Knight of the Garter, Knight of the Thistle, Knight of St. Patrick, Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, and Knight of the highest grades of foreign Orders too numerous to mention.

I had the privilege of examining these objects of art at my leisure in 1883. I was at home on furlough at the time, and being fond of pictures, I ventured to write to the Secretary of the second Duke, and begged him to do me the favour of asking his Grace to permit me to see his Landseers. In reply, I received the following note:—

DEAR SIR,—I shall be glad if you will come and see my pictures. But I have one request to make, namely, that you will come on a dry day, as I have a great objection to dirty boots.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

As I was being conducted by a particularly well-informed housekeeper around the study, up the grand staircase, and through the Waterloo Gallery, and the other rooms, I could but think of the contrast that my surroundings offered to those of the small house at Teynampett, Madras, which the Duke, as Colonel Wellesley, occupied for many a day. How little could the Colonel have foreseen, as he sat in his verandah, conducting incessant, and sanguinary warfare against mosquitoes bred in the adjacent Long Tank, what fate had in store for him; how little could he have dreamt that, on

June 28, 1814, it would be his unparalleled good fortune to be admitted to the House of Lords by the successive stages of Baron, Viscount, Earl, Marquis and Duke; and that, on June 18 in the following year, it would be his lot to give the *coup de grace* to Napoleon at Waterloo.

The ceremony of the introduction of the Duke of Wellington to the House of Lords, at about 3 o'clock on the day mentioned, was thus described in the *Times* of June 29, 1814:—

A considerable number of Peers attended, not in their robes. The space before the Throne was filled by the Members of the House of Commons, and the space below the bar was filled with a crowd of strangers. His Grace entered, attended by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, the Duke of Richmond, and Duke of Beaufort, preceded by Sir Isaac Heard, Lion King at Arms, and having delivered the writ to the Lord Chancellor, he went to the table. This being his Grace's first apappearance in the House since his elevation to the Peerage, the whole of the patents were delivered in their order, beginning with that of Baron Douro and Viscount Talavera, and proceeding through the whole—Earl of Wellington, Marquis of Douro, Marquis of Wellington, and Duke of Wellington. His Grace having taken the usual oaths of allegiance and abjuration, then sat with the attendant Dukes on the ducal bench.

Painted by L. F. Abbott.

SIR GEORGE STAUNTON, BART.,
Private Secretary to Earl Macartney.

CHAPTER VIII

A NOTABLE QUARTETTE

When Lord Macartney went to Madras, he took with him, as Private Secretary, a gentleman for whom he entertained much regard. This was Mr. George Leonard Staunton, aged forty-four, who had so far had a chequered career. Son of a Colonel of Militia in Ireland, and born in Cargin, County Galway, in 1737, he studied medicine for some time at a College at Montpellier, in France; and having, at the age of twenty-one, graduated as M.D., he proceeded to London in view to practising his profession. He attracted attention by his translations into English of professional books in French, and by other contributions to medical literature. Partly owing to this he formed the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell. But his practice was not lucrative, and he resolved to try his luck as a medical practitioner in the Colony of Grenada. Thereupon, according to Boswell, Dr. Johnson wrote the following admirable letter to him—

Dear Sir,—I make haste to answer your kind letter, in hope of hearing again before you leave us. I cannot but regret that a man of your qualifications should find it necessary to seek an establishment in Guadaloupe, which if a peace should restore to the French, I shall think it some alleviation of the loss that it must restore likewise Dr. Staunton to the English.

It is a melancholy consideration that so much of our time is necessarily to be spent upon the care of living, and that we can seldom obtain ease in one respect but by resigning it in another; yet I suppose we are by this dispensation not less happy on the whole than if the spontaneous bounty of Nature poured all that we want in our hands. A few, if they were thus left to themselves, would perhaps spend their time in laudable pursuits; but the greater part would prey upon the quiet of each other, or, in the want of other objects, would prey upon themselves.

This, however, is our condition, which we must improve and solace as we can ; and though we cannot choose always our place of residence we may in every place find rational amusements, and possess the comforts of piety and a pure conscience.

In America there is little to be observed except natural curiosities. The New World must have many vegetables and animals with which philosophers are but little acquainted. I hope you will furnish yourself with some books of natural history, and some glasses and other instruments of observation. Trust as little as you can to report ; examine all you can by your own senses. I do not doubt but you will be able to add much to knowledge, and perhaps to medicine. Wild nations trust to simples, and, perhaps, the Peruvian bark is not the only specific which those extensive regions may afford us.

Wherever you are, and whatever be your future, be certain, dear Sir, that you carry with you my kind wishes ; and that whether you return hither, or stay in the other hemisphere, to hear that you are happy will give pleasure to, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

June 1, 1762. SAM. JOHNSON.

Arrived at Grenada the young doctor succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations ; and partly by his profession, but chiefly, it may be supposed, by other means, he speedily gained a considerable fortune, which he invested in estates for the cultivation of sugar and other commercial products. Then he resigned medicine, and applied himself so well to the study of law that he was summoned to the local Legislative Council, and was soon appointed Attorney-General. In 1774 Lord Macartney arrived as Governor, and Mr. Staunton thereupon became acquainted with him. The acquaintance soon developed into mutual esteem, which endured unimpaired for the rest of their lives. In 1779 the French invaded Grenada, and not only effected the ruin of Mr. Staunton by desolating his estates, but gained possession of the island, took the Governor and Attorney-General prisoners, and shipped them off as prisoners of war to France. Mr. Staunton's familiarity with the French language and French people now stood both him and Lord Macartney in good stead, and eventually he persuaded the French authorities to permit him to go on his parole to London to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners, which resulted in his own and Lord Macartney's release.

So it was that when Lord Macartney accepted the offer of the Governorship of Fort St. George, he succeeded with comparative ease in inducing Mr. Staunton to accompany him, in view to his redressing in the far East the disaster to his fortune that he had sustained in the far West. The Private Secretaryship to a Governor in those days carried with it very little in the way of pay, but much in the shape of responsibility, though to a person unburdened with scruples it afforded opportunities for the accumulation of a fortune.

The passage from London to Madras, *viâ* the Cape, was expeditious, for it took but little more than three months. Three days after his arrival Mr. Staunton wrote to his parents to say that, "we found all things in confusion and distress arising from the invasion of the country by a famous Indian Prince named, Hyder Ally. . . . As His Lordship puts his whole confidence in me you may judge how exceedingly I am employed, but no motive shall prevent my writing to you on every opportunity." Seven months later he wrote to his relative Mr. Thomas Staunton, M.P., and stated that affairs in Madras continued in the "same uncertain, and I fear dangerous state, with the rest of the British Empire. It is in vain that a few men of integrity and real patriotism are employed, and busy in doing all the good, and averting all the evil in their power; their efforts will be counteracted by a bad and ruinous system." A year afterwards he was deputed by Lord Macartney to proceed to Calcutta, in view to removing differences of opinion on public questions of moment that had arisen between the Bengal and Madras Governments. By the exercise of the tact and courtesy which were characteristic of him Mr. Staunton succeeded in his efforts—at least temporarily—to disabuse the minds of the Governor-General and his colleagues of the prejudice with which they had previously regarded the action of the sorely pressed, and habitually impecunious Government of Madras.

On his return to Madras, Mr. Staunton found that affairs had undergone no change for the better during his absence, and as the months passed by he began to feel how little he was the gainer, and how much the loser by remaining in India.

His thoughts began to dwell upon returning home. Lord Macartney did not wish to part with him, for he was invaluable; yet he did not permit any selfish consideration to deter him from doing what he could to secure a good position elsewhere for his friend. So, on the 5th August, 1783, he wrote to Mr. Charles James Fox, and having made some general observations about the position of affairs in India, he proceeded to say that, "the old system cannot answer any longer, for that which was adapted to the regulation of mere commercial factories cannot now suit the administration of a great Empire." The great want was men of high character and good attainments in the Company's service. There were some men in Madras who "are not ill-qualified for continuing in office, but the number is small." The most capable of the whole of them was "Mr. Staunton, who came with me from England, and is still here. He is a gentleman of very good family, nearly related to old Mr. Staunton, the Member for Ipswich; of a liberal education, enlarged mind, uncommon industry and information, and one of the best head-pieces I have ever met with. He is withal a man of strict honour, and uncorruptible integrity, and of moderate views. Of these points I can speak with more precision and certainty than any man, and if I could not, you may rest assured, I would not recommend him with the warmth which I do." Accordingly he expressed the hope that for personal and public reasons Mr. Fox would not let slip any occasion that might offer, or that he could make, "for giving Mr. Staunton such a respectable appointment in this part of the world as may enable him to do what I know he will do, the most essential service to his country, and honour to his employers." Lord Macartney concluded by saying that Mr. Staunton's conduct as Attorney-General of Grenada was such as showed that he was "qualified for the highest office in India."

In November Mr. Sadleir, then Senior Civilian Member of Council, and Mr. Staunton were deputed by Lord Macartney to proceed to Seringapatam to negotiate terms of peace with Tippoo. They left Madras, accompanied by aides-de-camp, guards, and a train of attendants and followers; and they

travelled the whole distance, about four hundred miles, by palanquin. The change did Mr. Staunton good. Lord Macartney kept in touch with his Secretary, and on the 27th December, writing to "Dear Staunton," he said, that he had for some days been prevented from writing "by a variety of circumstances, rheumatism, gout, Christmas holidays, and a thousand indispensable avocations. In short, my dear friend, I am really worn down with distempers and fatigue. For God's sake, therefore, make a good peace as fast as you can, and return to us." But Tippoo was in no hurry, and so great was his dilatoriness in coming to terms that Lord Macartney, writing to Mr. Staunton on the 21st February, 1784, expressed his uneasiness at the situation of affairs, and concluded :—"Adieu, I look most anxiously for favourable news from you. I think really if this business fails I shall not survive it." A week later he concluded another letter by saying :—"In truth I am very ill calculated at present to write upon anything, for I am sick, sick at heart — your letters of yesterday have not been a cordial. Bengal has begun again to plague us with letters of reproach, but in such a manner as to give us every advantage we can wish." At length, peace with Tippoo was settled, though Mr. Staunton foresaw that "with a man of so little scruple it is not likely to be maintained longer than he will think it his interest to break it."

From Seringapatam Mr. Staunton proceeded to Tellicherry, and then returned to Madras. In July he embarked with despatches for England. He also carried with him a generous letter of introduction from Lord Macartney to the Court of Directors. The Government, too, collectively advised the Court as follows—

In a former address we took occasion to make mention of the merit of Mr. Staunton, and of the able assistance which this Government has derived from his distinguished talents in every branch of the administration; but we feel ourselves now more particularly called upon to express our sense of his eminent services, and the still higher sense we entertain of the strict integrity which has uniformly marked his conduct, in a situation which presented the greatest temptation to deviate from it.

These talents and integrity, which have already been devoted to

the Company, during the course of three arduous years, give Mr. Staunton an undoubted claim to your favour ; and joined to the knowledge which he has acquired in that time, they qualify him to fill any station of trust and importance in your service, and bear a share in those disinterested labours and exertions, which will be found indispensably necessary to the retrieval of your affairs, if to retrieve them be yet attainable.

Lord Macartney preserved a Memorandum, which is now in the British Museum, of the numerous letters that he entrusted to the care of Mr. Staunton, and this shows that he was a good man of business, and that he kept up, while he was in Madras, an active correspondence with many of his friends at home. Mr. Staunton thus took charge of the despatches of the Madras Government to the Court of Directors ; despatches to the first Lord of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State for War respectively ; and Lord Macartney's private letters to Lady Macartney, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Sandwich, Lord North, Lord Sydney, Lord Beauchamp, Lord Loughborough, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dundas, and twenty-one other gentlemen ; as well as duplicates of a few letters from Lord Macartney to his bankers "Thomas Coutts, Esq. and Co." Lord Macartney wrote again to Mr. Fox to remind him of the merits of Mr. Staunton.

The first result of these testimonies to Mr. Staunton's worth was that, on the 11th April, 1785, it was resolved unanimously by the Court of Directors, to grant him £500 per annum during his life, to commence from the 12th March, 1784, being the day on which the treaty of peace with Tippoo was signed.[1] In the following October the King conferred upon him the "honour of Baronet of the Kingdom of Ireland." In February, 1787, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society ; and in April, 1790, he received the degree of Honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Oxford. He remained out of employ until 1792, when he accompanied Lord Macartney's Embassy to China ; and, on his return home with Lord Macartney, he published an "Authentic Account of the Embassy." He died in London, on the 14th January, 1801 in the sixty-fourth year

[1] The portrait facing this chapter is reproduced from the right half of the painting by Abbott, referred to on page 94.

of his age, and was buried at Westminster Abbey. A monument, designed and executed by Chantrey, was erected in the North Aisle, exactly opposite the fine memorial and statue of Sir Stamford Raffles, the famous Governor of the Straits Settlements, and within a few inches of tablets, or tombstones, commemorative of five eminent Doctors of Music, namely, Charles Burney, John Blow, Samuel Arnold, Henry Purcell, and Michael Balfe. The chief feature of the Staunton memorial is a sarcophagus, on the side of which a European, seated, is represented in conversation with a native of India, who occupies a place on the ground beneath a tree. Below the sarcophagus is a white marble tablet which bears the following inscription :—

In the North Aisle of Westminster Abbey
Are deposited the Remains of
SIR GEORGE LEONARD STAUNTON,
Baronet, of Cargin, County of Galway, Ireland.
His life was devoted to his Country's service
In various parts of the globe :
His conduct on all occasions was distinguished
By Firmness, Prudence, and Integrity,
And in a peculiar manner displayed by the
Treaty of Peace concluded with
Tippoo Sultan, in 1784, by which
The British interests in India were promoted and secured
Born 19th April, 1737 ; Died 14th January, 1801.

The only surviving son of Sir George Staunton, also named George, succeeded him not only in the Baronetcy, but also, later on, as Fellow of the Royal Society, and as Doctor of Laws at Oxford. This second Sir George Staunton had an aptitude for Oriental languages, and acquired, at the Propaganda at Naples, the ability not only to talk but also to write Chinese. He accompanied the Macartney Embassy as the so-called " page." He was one of the founders of the Asiatic Society, and was Member of Parliament for St. Michael's, Haylesbury, South Hampshire and Portsmouth successively, almost continuously from 1818 until 1852. He was the author of numerous books connected with Oriental languages ; and he compiled, for private circulation, a brief memoir of his father, to which I am indebted for much of the information

contained in this sketch. He died, unmarried, in 1859; and the title thereupon became extinct.

Mr. Alexander Dalrymple.

On the 11th May, 1783—a date made memorable by the death of the Earl of Chatham at Hayes Place, Alexander Dalrymple arrived in Madras from England, after a voyage of five months. He had not completed his sixteenth year, yet he had been appointed a Writer on the Madras establishment of the East India Company. He was the seventh son of Sir James Dalrymple, and grandson of the Hon'ble Sir David Dalrymple, of Hailes, in the county of Haddington, Scotland. He received the rudiments of education at a school in Haddington, which was then in some repute, and he was regarded as a good Latin scholar; but he did not proceed to the University of Edinburgh. His father, who taught him some geography, died when Dalrymple was thirteen years of age. Two years later, or in 1752, the lad's paternal aunt, Lady Baird, widow of Sir John Baird, married General the Hon'ble St. Clair, an intimate friend of Alderman Baker, then Chairman of the East India Company. The boy had read "Nieuboff's Voyages," "Joe Thomson," and other books which inspired him with a desire to go to India; and the Alderman was induced by General St. Clair to obtain employment for him there. Accordingly, he was sent to a school at Four Tree Hill, Enfield, near London, to learn writing and accounts, the only qualifications required of aspirants to their service by the East India Company. According to the conditions of that service a candidate must have completed his sixteenth year, and it was only by a quibble, which was disapproved by his conscientious mother, Lady Christian Dalrymple, that the lad was allowed to pass the simple tests of Leadenhall Street. He embarked at Gravesend in the *Suffolk*. The ship was commanded by Captain William Wilson, a relative of Sir Thomas Wilson, an old acquaintance of General St. Clair; and this officer proved an excellent friend to young Dalrymple not only during the voyage, but for many years afterwards.

The *Suffolk* remained a month off Madras, and during that time Captain Wilson occupied a house on shore, and entertained Dalrymple as his guest. The latter had brought out with him a letter of introduction from Lord Northesk, who had been in India, to Mr. Saunders, Governor of Fort St. George, as well as to other persons, most of whom, he found on his arrival, had either left Madras, or died. The Governor did not take much interest in the lad. Mr. Charles Bourchier, who was then Secretary to Government, and who some years later succeeded to the Governorship, was more amiable, and endeavoured to find work for him in the Secretariat. But Dalrymple wrote such a shocking hand that it was difficult to know what to do with him. He was a Writer who could hardly write. So Mr. Bourchier placed him under the Storekeeper, where for a time he was forgotten. In October 1754, by which time Dalrymple had been seventeen months in Madras, Mr., afterwards Lord, Pigot succeeded Mr. Saunders as Governor. It happened that the Governor's brother, Admiral Pigot, was one of General St. Clair's many friends, and, at the instance of the General, the Admiral urged the Governor to give a helping hand to the young Writer. But the Governor found that he still wrote very badly. Thereupon he good naturedly showed him how to hold his pen, and how to write with ease. "From this instruction,"—it is related in a paper in the *European Magazine* for 1802 which has the look of being autobiographical —"he benefited more, in a few days, than by anything that he had been taught at school, and specially succeeded in writing a very good and fluent hand; and though not so masterly as Lord Pigot's, so much like his ordinary writing that he often mistook it for his own."

Mr. Robert Orme, the Indian historian, was then a Member of Council and Accountant in Madras, and he wished to make Dalrymple Sub-Accountant, notwithstanding his inexperience in book-keeping. The selection was not, however, approved by the Governor. Mr. Orme then, by way of consolation, gave Dalrymple the use of his valuable library, and continued to the end of his life to show him much kindness. Meanwhile Dalrymple was employed in the Secretary's

office, where he availed himself of the opportunities that offered for the examination of old records, and the study of the development of commerce in the East. There he remained until September, 1758, when his old friend Captain, now Commodore, Wilson arrived at Madras in the *Pitt*, 50 guns, bound for China, with Colonel, afterwards Sir William, Draper and a large body of troops on board. "It occurred to Commodore Wilson that the same principle by which ships went to the Malabar Coast and Persia from Madras in the South West monsoon was applicable in a passage to China, viz. by crossing the line, and taking advantage of the contrary monsoons that prevail at the same time in North and South latitudes." He proposed this to the Governor, who is stated to have consulted Dalrymple, with the result that the Commodore was authorised to put his project into execution. The voyage was successful, and the East India Company marked their sense of the Commodore's merit in the matter by presenting him with a gold medal.

All this led to Dalrymple studying navigation, and, with Lord Pigot's permission, he resolved to go on a voyage of observation in the Eastern seas in the schooner *Cuddalore*. But the French laid siege to Madras from December, 1758, to February, 1759, and caused so much devastation that it was found impossible afterwards to supply all the stores required by the vessel for a long cruise. So she was ordered to proceed to China to obtain the stores she needed there. Meanwhile the Hon'ble Thomas Howe, commanding the *Winchelsea*, East Indiaman, gave Dalrymple a passage with Lord Pigot's approval, to China, and initiated him in nautical matters on the voyage. "The evening before Dalrymple embarked Governor Pigot presented him with an instrument making him a present of whatever profits might accrue from the three-fourths concern in the *Cuddalore*. Having never insinuated such an intention he left no ground for mercenary imputation against Dalrymple in undertaking the voyage, or against the Governor himself for ordering it." Thus it was that Dalrymple reached Singapore in the *Winchelsea*, and then transferred himself to the *Cuddalore*.

The latter vessel went cruising about Malaya, Borneo and China for nearly three years, and returned to Madras in January, 1762. Dalrymple submitted to the Governor a report of his proceedings, and the Government in forwarding it to the Court of Directors expressed the opinion that he had shown himself "a man of capacity, integrity, and unwearied application." About the same time Admiral Kempenfelt, commanding H.M.'s ship *Norfolk*, then in the Madras Roads, stated that Lord Pigot had been "very happy in his choice of this young gentleman for such a service, as he is a person of good education, quick parts, and talents naturally adapted for such an employ." The Madras Government now resolved to send Dalrymple on another voyage to the East, in search of political and commercial advantages for the Company. With that object in view they appointed him by commission to be Captain of the *London*, in May, 1762. The expedition was not as successful as had been anticipated; but one result of it was the grant of the island of Balambangan to the Company. Dalrymple returned in the *London* to Madras in 1763. He remained a few weeks there, and then sailed, in the *Neptune*, for Sooloo, from whence, early in 1765, he returned to England, as the Madras Government considered that the success of future intercourse in the Eastern Islands might depend in a great measure on the Court of Directors receiving full information from him on the subject. But the Court of Directors were slow to avail themselves of his experience. Yet in 1769, four years after his return home, they made him a grant of £5,000 for his past services, being the equivalent, it was stated, of the emoluments which he had relinquished in Madras, ten years previously, when he made his first Eastern voyage.

He continued to devote himself to hydrographical and geographical studies until 1775, when he was appointed a Member of Council, and returned to Madras during the brief and ill-fated second term of Lord Pigot's Governorship. He held that appointment two years, and was then recalled with Messrs. Stratton, Floyers, Mackenzie, Russell, Stone and Lathom, all of whom were implicated in the revolt against, and imprisonment of the Governor. But this did not prevent his be-

coming the first Hydrographer to the East India Company, in 1779, or receiving a pension of £500 a year. In 1795 the King's Government resolved to appoint an Hydrographer to the Admiralty, and Earl Spencer made the first offer of the appointment to Mr. Dalrymple. With the approval of the Court of Directors he accepted it, and he held it until 1808, when he was summarily dismissed. He was then seventy-one years of age, and a bachelor. He died broken-hearted three weeks afterwards.

The incident aroused a good deal of sympathy at the time, and Lord Henry Petty drew attention to it in the House of Commons ten days after Mr. Dalrymple's death. Having paid a high tribute to the scientific attainments and distinguished services of that gentleman, he proceeded to say that he had been offered a pension equivalent to his salary as Hydrographer if he would resign ; but that he declined to accept the offer, whereupon he was summarily dismissed from the public service, a circumstance that had undoubtedly accelerated his death. He, therefore, moved for a copy of the letter of dismissal which the Lords of the Admiralty had addressed to Mr. Dalrymple. Mr. R. Ward, on behalf of the Government, replied that no objection would be raised to the production of papers bearing on the case. He endorsed what Lord Henry Petty had said about the merits and services of Mr. Dalrymple, and he added that the Lords of the Admiralty also held Mr. Dalrymple's genius in much esteem. But, for several months before his dismissal, they could not prevail upon him to comply with their orders for the production of charts for the use of the Navy. He filled folios with his reasons for not executing those orders, until the Board considered it was necessary to take a decisive step. The Board had not, as Lord Henry Petty imagined, made Mr. Dalrymple an offer of a pension equivalent to his official salary, but they had guaranteed him the highest proportion of salary that could be given on retirement. In their letter requesting him to retire they did not allude to what they could not but regard as his numerous acts of disobedience, but they expressed in the softest terms their wish that he would vacate the position that he

occupied in order that other arrangements might be made.

Professor Laughton, the author of a notice of his career in the "Dictionary of National Biography," states that his work at the Admiralty was onerous and important, involving the collecting, collating, and publishing of a large number of charts, and the organisation of a new Department. "His services," adds the somewhat unsympathetic Professor, "were unquestionably good, but he seems to have placed a higher value on them than his superiors for the time being did; and he was thus involved in frequent unpleasantnesses, and experienced frequent disappointments and mortifications both at the Admiralty and from the Court of Directors." He published fifty-nine brochures. They included a collection of South Sea Voyages that he compiled during the siege of Madras, when he was Deputy Secretary to Government, which shows incidentally, as the *European Magazine* remarked, "how little influence that siege had on persons' minds at the time." He probably made the mistake of not "sticking to his last"; for not only was he an exceedingly prolific writer about charts, surveys, voyages, wrecks, ports, and such like, but he also ventilated his opinions about the cases of Lord Pigot, General Stuart, and the Tanjore Raj, Parliamentary Reform, and so forth; while on one occasion he wrote an introduction for the story of "Dooshyanta" and "Sakoontala" as translated from the *Mahabharata*. Doubtless he had his foibles, like most people. But, for all that, he may be regarded as one of the most notable of the Members of Council of Madras.

Mr. Josiah Webbe.

Previous to July, 1800, the head of the Government Secretariat, Fort St. George, was designated "the Secretary to Government"; but, on the 12th of that month, an Order was issued by the Governor in Council, directing that for the future all letters and applications of the nature of those heretofore addressed to "the Secretary to Government," should be directed, either to "the Chief Secretary to Government," or to the Secretary of the Department to which the business referred to in the communication specially related. At the same time

all officers, military as well as civil, were requested to observe that they were in no case "to blend in one letter subjects belonging to different Departments"; but were, in all such cases, to address separate letters to the Departments to which the subjects respectively belonged. Answers, it was added, would be returned either by the Chief Secretary to Government, or by the Secretary of the Department to which the letter or application might, in accordance with the new Order, have been forwarded. This Order was signed by Mr. "J. Webbe," as "Chief Secretary to Government." That gentleman was accordingly the first to hold that responsible and influential position. It is no disparagement of his numerous successors to say that, judging from the estimation in which he was held by those with whom he was associated, he was not inferior in ability or attainments to any of them. He was only thirty-three years at the time of the publication of the Order under reference; but he had already made his mark in India; and had it not been for his untimely death he might, it is reasonable to suppose, have preceded both Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Stephen Rumbold Lushington in the Governorship of Madras.

He arrived in Fort St. George, as a Writer, in 1783, in his sixteenth year; and was initiated into administrative work as Assistant for three years to what was called the Select Committee. In 1786, when he was just completing his "teens," he was appointed Assistant to the Secretary in the Military Department. He had applied himself so industriously to the study of the local vernaculars that he was at the same time made Mahratta Translator to the Government. In the following year he was transferred, still as Assistant Secretary, to the Public and Revenue Department. In 1790, at the age of twenty-three, he was appointed Secretary to the "Board of Assumed Revenue"; in 1792 he was gazetted Deputy Secretary to the Public, Commercial and Revenue Department; and in 1795 he became Secretary in that Department, as well as Clerk to the Court of Appeal, and to the Committee of Treasure. Two years later, at the age of thirty, he became Secretary to Government, and still retained the Mahratta Translatorship.

It will be observed that he was afforded no opportunity for gaining up-country experience. His knowledge of the Mofussil may have been comprehensive and exact, but it was inevitably second-hand, and founded largely on hearsay, and official documents.

Lord Hobart, who had been Governor three and a half years when Mr. Webbe became the Chief of the Madras Secretariat, remained in office until February, 1798, when he was recalled, and embarked for England before his successor had arrived. The responsibility thereupon devolved upon General Harris, as Commander-in-Chief, and First Member of Council, of provisionally assuming the office of Governor without prejudice to his military duties. His previous experience had been exclusively of a military character, and he was thus rendered dependent on his civilian colleagues in Council, but especially on Mr. Webbe, as the Secretary, for guidance in regard to the civil matters that came before him. And it was while he was occupying this uncongenial position that the Earl of Mornington arrived off Fort St. George from England in the *Sybille*, *en route* for Calcutta. General Harris despatched his Private Secretary and son-in-law, Mr. Lushington, to the frigate to congratulate the new Governor-General on his safe voyage, and to accompany his Lordship ashore. Lord Mornington landed without delay, and was accommodated, with all suitable respect for his high office, at Government House in the Fort. He remained several days in Madras, and spent the time in a close study of the public functionaries, resources, and capabilities of the Presidency. He then resumed his journey to Bengal. Shortly afterwards he wrote privately to General Harris, to say that he had determined "to call upon the Allies without delay, and to assemble the Army of the Coast with all possible expedition" for the invasion of Mysore. He told the General that his public instructions would follow in the course of a few days. "Until you have received them," he added, "it will not be proper to take any public steps for the assembling of the Army; but whatever can be done without a disclosure of the ultimate object, I authorise you to do immediately," since "it is my positive resolution to as-

semble the Army upon the Coast." After an anxious night of meditation General Harris sent the Governor-General's communication to Mr. Webbe, for that gentleman's information before it was laid before Council. Its perusal called forth from Mr. Webbe expressions of astonishment and alarm which so dismayed Mr. Lushington that he reported them to General Harris, who saw that while his own course as a soldier was to obey without questioning the orders he might receive from higher authority, it was probable that his civilian colleagues would share Mr. Webbe's views. He requested Mr. Webbe to state his opinions in writing for the information of the Governor-General. Mr. Webbe thereupon drew up a Memorandum.

Mr. Webbe said at starting that it seemed to him that the project of introducing a new state of things by the deposition of Tippoo as a power in India, involved a "greater danger of evil than a chance of good." He showed how Tippoo held the vantage ground, while "in respect to ourselves, a very large portion of the Coast Army is detached, our means of resources are curtailed by the war in Europe, and our credit in this country, at least upon this Coast, is bankrupt." It therefore appeared to him that if with the exceptional advantages that were commanded in 1790 the operations against Tippoo "were not made successful without the greatest difficulty, I am fearful that, under the general change of circumstances which I have reviewed, an attack upon him now is more likely to end in discomfiture than victory." There was no grain at Arnee, Vellore, or elsewhere ; and it would be difficult to enable the Coast Army to assume the offensive for several months to come. "Nothing can be more urgent than our representations to Bengal upon the state of our finances except the necessities which produce them. It is a fact that without assistance in money from thence, our military expenses upon the peace establishment cannot be provided for beyond the month of September" ;—or for only three months from the date of the Memorandum. "I am afraid, therefore, that, far from being in a state to equip an Army for the field, we shall scarcely have the means of marching the different corps to Wallajahbad, while the state of the treasury renders it utterly impracticable to make any

suitable advance for draught and carriage cattle." Thus he could "anticipate none but the most baneful consequences from a war with Tippoo." But "if war is inevitable, and the present are judged the most advantageous circumstances under which it can commence, I fear that our situation is bad beyond the hope of remedy."

General Harris sent on this document to the Governor General, and left him to form an opinion of the arguments it contained. "I should not," he stated in a postscript to a despatch, with which the Memorandum was forwarded, "have troubled you with it if I did not feel an anxiety that you should be prepared to meet all the arguments which will be stated with so much virulence by the Opposition at home against the author of the war, if, unfortunately, we should be compelled to endure that calamity." The Governor General did not condescend to refute Mr. Webbe's opinions; but the perusal of the Memorandum which so unhesitatingly challenged the wisdom of his own resolution, may have had something to do with the qualified terms that he employed when writing a few days later to Edward, Lord Clive, to welcome him on his arrival at Madras. In this letter he offered for the new Governor's information his "unreserved opinion" of the character of such persons as he had an opportunity of knowing at Madras; and he commenced by saying that Mr. Webbe, the Secretary of the Government, appeared to him to be "a man of talents and knowledge; his integrity I believe to be unblemished." He represented to the new Governor that the Governor General in Council "must frequently issue instructions, the fundamental principles and final scope of which cannot at first sight be fully understood by the other Presidencies." He stated that the duty of those Presidencies "can never be to mix direct or indirect censures with their formal obedience to the legal authority of the Governor-General in Council." He observed that an examination of the records of "the late Government of Fort St. George will manifest to your Lordship a constant tendency towards this fatal error." He then alluded to "a letter to me in Council, containing both direct and indirect censures of the orders which I have lately issued for assem-

bling the Army on the Coast, a measure indispensably necessary, and founded on a variety of reasons, of which the Government of Fort St. George could not at that time comprehend either the nature or extent."

It has been said in a former page that the Governor-General went to Madras early in 1799, and remained there nearly seven months watching the course of the campaign which culminated in the fall of Seringapatam, and the death of Tippoo. The Government of Madras was during that time totally eclipsed by the Supreme Government; but all orders issued by the Governor-General in Council were signed by Mr. Webbe, as Secretary. He was thus brought into close contact with Lord Mornington, and each, doubtless, saw much to respect and admire in the other. Meanwhile the Court of Directors had strongly resented Mr. Webbe's gloomy apprehensions about the war, and seriously thought of recalling him. But Lord Mornington and Lord Clive persuaded them to relinquish that intention. The Directors, however, insisted in 1804 in removing him from Madras, in disregard of the Governor General's and the Governor's opinion, and appointing him Resident in Mysore, and afterwards at the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindiah. When proceeding to take up the latter appointment, he fell ill, on the 9th of November, at Mussingabad, on the banks of the Nerbudda, and, sad to say, he died there, aged thirty-seven.

A meeting was speedily held in Madras for the purpose of marking the public sense of his official merits and high character. It had transpired that when the Governor General endeavoured to induce the Court of Directors to leave Mr. Webbe in Madras, he expressed the opinion that that gentleman "possessed knowledge, talents and virtue never surpassed in India," and had "devoted the best years of his valuable life for the honour and benefit of the Company." So, when it was decided to raise a monument to Mr. Webbe's memory in St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George,—which he may have attended during those years—it was resolved to beg the Governor General to write the epitaph to be placed upon it. But he replied that he was debarred by his official

position from complying with the request. Then the duty was assigned to somebody else, and the result was the production of the epitaph that may still be seen on the monument. After a few introductory words the epitaph sets forth that Mr. Webbe's

> mind by Nature firm, lofty and energetic, was formed by classic study to a tone of independence and patriotism not unworthy of the best days of Greece and Rome. Disdaining the little arts of private influence, or of vulgar popularity, and erect in conscious integrity, he rested his claims to public honours on public merit. An extensive knowledge of the Eastern languages forwarded his rise to stations of high trust, where his ambition was fired to exalt the honour and interests of his country; and during an eventful period of Indian history his services were crowned with important success. In the midst of a career thus honoured and distinguished he was cut off by sickness in the prime of life, beloved with fervour by his friends, regretted by his rulers, and admired by all.

It is interesting also to know that Purnaiya Dewan erected a column near Seringapatam to the memory of Mr. Webbe "as a tribute"—so runs the inscription upon it—"of veneration and respect for splendid talents, unsullied purity, and eminent public virtue." Mr. Webbe included among his friends Colonel Arthur Wellesley (subsequently Duke of Wellington), who took home with him from Madras a copy of an engraving of a portrait of Mr. Webbe that was painted in Madras by Mr. Hickey. The Duke reserved a prominent place for this engraving in the dining-room of Strathfieldsaye; and it is related that on one occasion, when he was asked by a guest whose portrait it was, he replied by mentioning Mr. Webbe's name, and added, "He was one of the ablest men I ever knew, and what is more, one of the most honest."

Mr. Thomas Cockburn.

It has already been mentioned that Lord Clive, shortly after his arrival as Governor, in August, 1798, received a long letter of welcome and warning from Lord Mornington, whose personal acquaintance he had yet to make, in which the Governor General thought it expedient to deliver his "unreserved opinion of the character of such persons as I had an

opportunity of knowing at Madras" during his stay there, while outward bound from London to Calcutta. "I must observe," he added, "that although my continuance at Madras was but short, I had very frequent opportunities of seeing all the persons of whom I shall speak to your Lordship." He assured Lord Clive that he would find all the members of the Board of Revenue worthy of confidence. He then said :—

Mr. Cockburn, however, deserves particular notice. He bears the highest reputation for integrity, talents, and knowledge of the business of the country, and I found him fully answerable to his general character. I have very seldom met with a more valuable man in any part of the world ; and I take the liberty of recommending him to your Lordship's attention, as a person upon whom you may rely for the most accurate information, and for the soundest and most honest opinions, entirely exempt from any taint of passion, prejudice, or self-interest.

This encomium may have been partly attributable to the circumstance that Mr. Cockburn was almost the only official in Madras who expressed warm approval instead of strong disapproval of Lord Mornington's determination to force war upon Tippoo. The proposed expedition was, according to Mr. Lushington, the Acting-Governor's Secretary, contemplated with great alarm by nearly every civil and military servant of the Presidency except Mr. Cockburn. "His able and ardent mind entered cordially into the wisdom and sagacity of Lord Mornington's policy, and he rendered every aid in his power to its success by his comprehensive knowledge and animated example." Eight years previously, during the first war with Tippoo, Mr. Cockburn filled the office of Commissary-General ; and, at the end of the campaign, Colonel Ross, Secretary to Lord Cornwallis, wrote to him to say that "no man can entertain a higher sense of your zeal and exertions than his Lordship does, and while he sets a just estimate on your services to the public, I am persuaded he is not without feeling a considerable share of personal obligation to you for them." Moreover, Lord Cornwallis, after his return home, at the conclusion of his first term of office as Governor General, did

not forget Mr. Cockburn, for, in March, 1798, when Lord Clive was preparing to leave for Madras, he mentioned to him in London—as he wrote to Mr. Cockburn—"my sense of your merits and abilities, and the slender rewards with which they have been hitherto attended, and I pointed you out as a person who deserved his confidence." Soon after Lord Clive's assumption of office, it was perceived, as has been stated, that, with every desire to carry out the imperious behests of the Supreme Government, he was not the type of man to hold the helm of state during a crisis, and Mr. Cockburn united with General Harris and Colonel Wellesley in entreating Lord Mornington to assume the personal control of affairs at Madras. The Governor General rose grandly to the occasion, and—according to Mr. Lushington, an eye-witness—"from the day of his arrival at Madras the word difficulty was little heard; all heads and hearts soon worked for the great object in view, the due equipment and supply of the army, and none more efficiently than Mr. Cockburn."

He was appointed a Writer in Madras in 1779, at the age, presumably, of sixteen; and upon his arrival he was placed under the Secretary to the Select Committee. In 1782 he was made Sub-Accountant; from which in 1785 he was promoted to Agent Victualler, in recognition, as the Government said, of the "great diligence and attention" which he had shown in the former capacity. In 1786 he became Accountant to the Board of Revenue, and in 1787 Commissary General of Grain and Provisions. The attention of the Court of Directors was drawn by the Government to the "ability and unremitting attention" which he had displayed as Revenue Accountant, and a special allowance of 200 pagodas per month, in addition to his other emoluments, was sanctioned. In 1788 he was elected by the creditors to be Registrar of the Private Debts of the Nabob of Arcot and of the Rajah of Tanjore. He now resigned the post of Accountant to the Board of Revenue owing to the great claims made upon him as Commissary-General, and the Board forwarded his resignation to the Government, and said that, as frequent mention had been made of his "diligence and ability in the discharge of his laborious

duties," it was unnecessary to do more than to say that he had given the Board "entire satisfaction." In 1791 when the above mentioned operations against Tippoo were being concerted by Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Cockburn, as Commissary-General, was, among other things, Principal Agent for the provision of draught and carriage bullocks with a special allowance of 600 pagodas a month; and he was permitted as a special case to draw this allowance, as a reward, for two years after the conclusion of the war. In May, 1793, he was relieved of the office of Commissary-General, and appointed—presumably in the thirtieth year of his age, and the fourteenth year of his official service—Third Member of the Board of Revenue.

The members of that Board were not then remunerated in proportion to the duties which devolved upon them; and, in 1796, the Government urged the Court of Directors to sanction an increase in the scale of salaries. In doing so the Government said of the Board:—"We can vouch (and the records support the assertion) that their labour has been incessant, that their investigations have been minute, that their conduct has been vigorous and firm, that the information which they have brought forward is material, that the energy of their superintendence has introduced a system which before was wanting, that their vigilance has enabled us to detect and to correct much abuse, and, finally, that we conscientiously believe them to have acted upon public motives and the most rigid integrity." The Government therefore submitted that the Members "ought to have greater inducements for the employment of their talents and experience than the situations which they now hold at the Board of Revenue." The Court of Directors in reply expressed their "entire concurrence in the opinion you have expressed of the merits of the Members of which that Board is at present composed." But no increase of salaries was made at the time.

In October, 1798, shortly after Lord Clive's arrival, Mr. Cockburn submitted to Government a claim for 14,472 pagodas, which he considered due to him in consequence of the loss he had sustained by his exchange of the Commissary-

Generalship for a seat on the Board. The Government supported his request. But the Court of Directors declined to act on the recommendation of the Government, for fear, as they said, of "encouraging a revival of old claims." But, as a mark of their approval of Mr. Cockburn's conduct while acting as Commissary-General, which they observed "stood honourably distinguished," they presented him with 2,500 pagodas. Mr. Cockburn was not satisfied with this slice of the whole loaf to which he considered he was entitled, and he respectfully begged the Court to reconsider his case on its merits. But the Court replied that they "saw no reason for entering into a revision of his claim." He was a member of the Committee of Reform appointed in 1798 to revise the Civil Establishments in the Presidency. The Court of Directors eventually acknowledged the "useful, zealous, and able labours of the Committee," the members of which had "shown a very extensive acquaintance with the affairs of the Company, strict impartiality in the application of reform, and great attention to public interests."

In 1797 the Board of Revenue were busily engaged in the production of a report upon the proposed introduction of a permanent system of revenue and judicature; and the Court of Directors, two years later, expressed its approbation of the "industry and abilities which the Board had displayed in the investigation and elucidation of this extensive and complicated subject." About the same time the Court sanctioned an increase to the salaries of the members of the Board as from the 1st September 1799, or two years previously, as follows:—First Member, from 10,000 to 12,000 pagodas per annum; Second Member, from 8,000 to 11,000; and the Third Member from 8,000 to 10,000. Mr. White, the First, and Mr. Kindersley, the Second Member, soon afterwards resigned, whereupon Mr. Cockburn became First Member, and two new men were appointed Second and Third Members respectively. Strange to add, Mr. Cockburn was not long in proposing to follow the example of Mr. White and Mr. Kindersley. In September, 1801, when he had been twenty-two consecutive years in the service, he had the option of retiring upon a pension of £400 a

year from the Civil Fund, and he resolved to avail himself of it. But the Government begged him to reconsider his decision, and he agreed to do so. In informing the Court of Directors of this, the Government said that "Mr. Cockburn has, at our solicitation, founded on a conviction of the injury which the interests of the Company would have sustained by his immediate departure from India, relinquished that intention."

In 1802 Mr. Cockburn was appointed a member of the Special Commission formed for the completion of the permanent settlement of the revenues. In the following September he requested leave to proceed to Bengal on private business. The Government in granting the request resolved to reimburse him the annuity of £400 per annum which he "had sacrificed to the public service until the operation of the Civil Fund should again extend that indulgence to him." The Government urged the Court of Directors to commute the annuity for at least 10,000 pagodas, as it would be impossible "to recommend to the Court's liberality an instance of more conspicuous merit, of more zealous devotion to the interests, or of more successful application to the business of the Company than that which had been presented to their notice by the uniform tenor of Mr. Cockburn's long, faithful, and important service." The Court sanctioned the proposed payment of £400 per annum, as an "act of justice" to Mr. Cockburn; but "conceiving that individuals from amongst their Civil Servants may at all times be found capable of occupying any situation that shall become vacant," they decided that "no precedent should be made of the case hereafter."

Mr. Cockburn did not return to Madras, but embarked at Calcutta, in December 1802, and arrived in England in the following April. He was then appointed one of the Commissioners for the final settlement of the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot. Altogether 4,562 claims were submitted to the Commissioners, and reported to Parliament, for an aggregate amount of £30,404,919, and in the end the Commissioners allowed claims for the total sum of £2,686,148. In their last report on the subject Mr. Cockburn and his colleagues, Mr. B. Hobhouse and Mr. R. H. Inglis, expressed the belief that the

investigation which they had concluded "has not deprived any one claimant of his least right under those terms of inquiry to which, by signing the deed of covenants, he had himself agreed; whilst as to some of the cases rejected, it has defeated the most iniquitous combinations of fraud which were ever submitted to a legal tribunal." In 1812 Mr. Cockburn gave evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, with the proposed renewal of the charter of the Company.

Before passing out of public notice Mr. Cockburn placed on record the opinions which his long residence in Madras had led him to form on the then vexed question of the conversion of India to Christianity. There were at the time some well intentioned but ill-informed enthusiasts in Parliament, and elsewhere, who considered that it was incumbent upon England to force her own religion on her subjects in India. As a preliminary to their plan of campaign, the representatives of this scheme introduced a resolution for the acceptance of the House of Commons, which set forth that "it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature to promote, by all justifiable and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may generally tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." This Resolution seemed at first sight to commit the House of Commons to nothing more than an endorsement of a truism. But it assumed a different aspect when it was announced in the newspapers, with the alleged sanction of certain Ministers of the Prince-Regent, that the real, however latent, object of the Resolution was to obtain the authority of Parliament for an attempt by the Government to convert the natives of India from the religions of their fathers, which were characterised as the "prototypes of faithlessness, perjury, and hypocrisy"; and also to imply that the Supreme and Local Governments of India, had neglected their duty in not having declared that it was the sacred obligation of the English Government to convert those people to Christianity.

Mr. Cockburn regarded with much apprehension the enter-

tainment in any quarter of such ideas as these. He had put in a long period of service in Madras; he could claim to know far more about India and the Indians than was probably dreamt of by home-staying visionaries in and out of Parliament. He found no scope, on his return home in 1804, for the utilisation of that great ability and wide experience which, as has been shown, were so cordially recognised by Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Clive. No position was found for him by the Court of Directors in the East India House, where, one might suppose, such a man should have been an acquisition; nor was he admitted to the Board of Control at Westminster. He had had his day, and he retired into private life, with, perhaps, unimpaired powers, and every desire to make himself still useful in his day and generation. His was, in this respect, no unusual experience. But he was thought of—possibly on the suggestion of Lord Wellesley—when the affairs of India came up in 1813 for periodical scrutiny, in connection with the proposed renewal of the Company's charter. He gave his evidence, and then withdrew from the precincts of Parliament House. But it occurred to him, immediately afterwards, that he might do some good by ventilating his views about the intimate association which was proposed of the Government with Christian evangelising effort in India. Accordingly, he resorted to the expedient of sketching a speech that, if he had been a Member of Parliament, he would have liked to have delivered in the House on the subject of "Legislative Interference in the Conversion of the Indian Population to Christianity." This sketch was printed by Valpy, of Tooke's Court, Chancery Lane, and was published, priced at 3*s*., by Edmund Lloyd, of Harley Street, London.

In a preface to the brochure, Mr. Cockburn expressed the hope that he would be pardoned for the presumption of supposing himself to be a Member of "that Honourable House for which I entertain the highest respect." But he had felt it obligatory on him as a friend to Christianity to submit to the "august guardians of the public weal" what appeared to him to be due to the honour and good faith of his countrymen, the security of British interests in India,

and the peace and happiness of the people of that country. He entertained a strong conviction that great evil would inevitably result from "Legislative enactment or interference, declaring either directly, or by implication, that it is the duty of the British Government to make a provision for the conversion of the natives of India." He then commenced the proposed speech. In imagination, he invited the House to listen to him as he attempted to show that "the peace and happiness of a whole continent, containing upwards of one hundred millions of the human race, and the very existence of his countrymen, and of British Empire in the East," depended upon the solution of the question before the House. The Marquis Cornwallis had published in 1793 a Regulation in which the British Government formally undertook to preserve to the natives of India "the laws of the Shaster and Koran, in matters in which they have been invariably applied," and "to protect them in the free exercise of their religion." And, in 1797, an Act of Parliament was passed regulating the proceedings of the Supreme Courts of Judicature in India, in which it was provided that, "in order that due regard may be paid to the civil and religious usages of the natives, the rights and authorities of fathers of families, and masters of families, according as the same may be exercised by the Gentoo or Mahomedan law, shall be preserved to them."

Mr. Cockburn yielded to no man in his belief in the benign influence of the Christian religion, and he scouted the idea that he would for a moment care to support Hindu mythology in preference to the doctrines of Christianity. For all that he contended that it would be inconsistent with the honour, the faith, and the humanity of his country to swerve from the pledge of absolute toleration which had been given to the people of India. He was no Hindu, but his residence for nearly a quarter of a century in Madras had led him to the conviction that the charity of Hindus is not exceeded by that of Christians; and that the "moral lessons of the Hindus, to be found in the works in common use among them, breathe sentiments which would do honour to Christians." The Hindus had from time immemorial, as is shown by their sacred wri-

tings, entertained exalted ideas regarding the worship of the Supreme Being; charity to their fellow-creatures; the duties of husbands and wives, of parents and children; beneficence, hospitality, gratitude, and justice. Naturally, they were very sensitive about any interference with their religious opinions. The horrible events which took place at Vellore in 1807, and which were immediately attributable to tampering with the religious prejudices of the sepoys on and off parade, "ought to serve as a beacon." The Portuguese at Goa early in the seventeenth century, and Hyder and Tippoo in the latter part of the eighteenth century, did incalculable mischief by their intolerance. Tippoo especially alienated the Hindus within his dominions, and thus played into the hands of the British, who in the end emancipated them from his bigoted and cruel oppression.

Mr. Cockburn observed that the *Christian Observer* had urged that no one should be elected a Director of the East India Company who would not pledge himself to promote Christianity in India. It seemed to him that no such pledge should be exacted. Those who ardently desired the diffusion of Christianity should be shown that success could be brought about "only by the hand of power not appearing in it." The Court of Directors and the Indian Governments were bound to extend the same protection to Christian Missionaries as they extended to other Europeans whom they permitted to proceed to, and reside in India. But they should take no part in the propagation of Christianity in India. "Let the Gospel," he said, "stand or fall by its intrinsic merits." It might be that, as had been remarked by one writer, the perusal of the Bible, and the sanctity of the lives of teachers and converts, might produce little other visible effect than that of increased respect for Christianity; but it should not be concluded that the labour employed in producing that result was in vain. Mr. Cockburn recalled that in the year 1719 certain Danish Missionaries published in their Indian transactions an account of a conversation that one of their number had with a Malabarian. The Missionary described the beauties and joys of Christianity; and the Malabarian inquired if all Christians

were really holy men, who did honour to so noble a creed. The Missionary had to admit that many professing Christians were a scandal to Christianity. Then the Malabarian remarked—

All that you say is very right, but before we leave an old subject in order to embrace a new one, it is but reasonable that you show the old to be very bad, or the new one to be much better. . . . What makes you walk abroad among us, and upbraid us with our imperfections, while your own disciples at home are not any better themselves? Pray, Sir, would not you do better to exert your charity first at home, and convert the Christians from the wickedness of their ways, and then to come and convert us? You would have us believe you to be a holy man; but give me leave to tell you that it does not become an holy man to blaspheme our Gods, for true piety despises no man on account of religion, and it is therefore that we Malabarians do neither condemn nor despise the Christians on account of their religion. Give me leave to tell you that we cannot see that you have sufficiently proved our laws to be false and erroneous; nor so clearly and evidently proved the truth of your own that we should inconsiderately change the religion of our fathers for that of foreigners and sojourners in our land. For I would have you know that as Christians and Mahomedans derive their faith from God, so do we; for certainly you cannot imagine that we hammered and forged a religion for ourselves more than you. The Mahomedan will have his religion to be absolutely the best; the Christians condemn all but themselves; and we Malabarians think our religion to be the best for us.

Mr. Cockburn concluded his proposed speech by imploring the House to calmly and dispassionately consider the whole bearings of this "most delicate subject, which ought to be left to the discretion and prudence of the Government in this country and of the Governments in India." He reiterated his belief that an Act of the Legislature declaring, or implying, that it was the sacred duty of the British Government to convert the population of India to Christianity would be "tantamount to signing the death warrant of British security and British power in the East." He, therefore, proposed that in lieu of the ambiguously worded Resolution, which has been quoted, it should be resolved by the House—

That the principles of the British Government on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, as secured to them by the several Acts of the Legislature, shall be inviolably

maintained; and that the entire and perfect toleration in all matters of religion shall, as heretofore, be allowed and established throughout the territories of British India.

It need hardly be said that Parliament was not persuaded into departing an iota from its attitude of toleration towards the religious beliefs of the people of India; and that in 1858, forty-five years after the publication of Mr. Cockburn's speech, the permanency of that toleration was secured by the grand passage in the late Queen's proclamation to the people of India on the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown. Her Majesty declared that, "while firmly relying on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion," she disclaimed "alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." Consequently, she announced it to be her Royal will and pleasure that "none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances," and that "all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law." Her Majesty, therefore, strictly charged and enjoined all in authority under her "that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."

Painter Unknown.

MR THOMAS SNODGRASS.

Member of the Civil Service of Madras, 1777-1804.

CHAPTER IX

AN ANGLO-INDIAN CROSSING-SWEEPER

I WAS recently afforded the privilege of accompanying a large party of ladies and gentlemen on a cruise, in a well-found steamer, from London Bridge to Greenhithe and back, in order to visit the *Warspite*, the training-ship of the Marine Society. The vessel is an old two-decker, or a survival of those "wooden walls of old England" that have mostly departed in pieces; and for upwards of a century the Society has been allowed by the Government the free use of it. The *Warspite* having been reached, she was boarded and inspected, after which the two hundred healthy and cheerful-looking lads who are being trained there for a nautical career, were put through a course of exercises. This was a gratifying object-lesson for the spectators, who had gleaned from the Report that, during the one hundred and forty-seven years of its existence, the Society has trained 64,303 lads for sea, of whom 28,265 were supplied to the Royal, and 3,760 to the Indian Navy. The beneficent and patriotic aims of the Society appealed strongly to the sympathy of the three immediate predecessors on the throne of Queen Victoria; and she marked her own sense of the Society's national importance by contributing 100 guineas a year to its funds during the whole of her reign. King Edward has followed her benevolent example in this, as in many other respects, and has succeeded her as the Society's Patron.

Being much interested by what I had been afforded the opportunity of seeing at Greenhithe, I called, on the following day, at the Society's old office in Clark's Place, Bishopsgate Street Within, to make some inquiries, and I was courteously shown the curiosities of the place. The office is suitably

fitted up for the work that is done there. It contains not only chairs and tables that are early Georgian, but some paintings that are of interest as memorials of persons who rendered good service in the management of the Society in former days. The place of honour is occupied by a full-length portrait of Mr. Jonas Hanway, the founder of the Society, who was a merchant as well as a philanthropist; and to the right of it is a full-length portrait of the second Earl of Romney, and to the left a corresponding portrait of the third Earl of Romney, father of the present Peer—three successive occupants of the chair of President. A prominent position on the walls of the hall is occupied by a large portrait in oils of a gentleman named Thomas Snodgrass, who, I was informed by my guide, was for a considerable period an active member of the Committee. I was at once reminded of the name of the bard in *Pickwick*; but, at the same moment, it dawned on me that, if my memory was not at fault, a gentleman rejoicing in the same patronymic once belonged to the Civil Service of Madras. I was, however, assured that the Committee were not aware that the subject of the painting had been in India. Yet, the more I thought about it, the stronger was my impression that, if the truth were elicited, it would be found that he hailed from that interesting part of the world. The impression has proved correct.

It is supposed by Mr. Alexander Baillie, the author of a history of the Oriental Club, that it was at Chatham, near Gad's Hill, the novelist's favourite place of residence, that Charles Dickens noticed the name of Snodgrass, and conferred it consequently upon the gentleman who, when introduced to the student of the chronicles of the Pickwick Club, is represented as being "poetically enveloped in a mysterious blue coat, with a canine-skin collar," and who is prone, after sipping "cherry brandy with heart-felt satisfaction," to labour under a "poetical depression of spirits." Mr. Baillie also conjectures that the Thomas Snodgrass now referred to was a brother of a Rev. Dr. Snodgrass, who married a daughter of Robert Montgomery, a Scotch preacher and poet, by whom he had a son, Lieutenant-Colonel John Snodgrass, Military Secretary to

Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart., G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the expedition to Burma in 1824. Colonel Snodgrass wrote a narrative of that Burmese War, and his widow died at the age of ninety, in New South Wales. His son became a member of the Legislative Council of Victoria; and his granddaughter, *née* Snodgrass, is the widow of the late Sir William Clarke, Bart., of that Colony. It will be seen that no mention was made by Mr. Snodgrass in his will of any male relative. So, possibly, Mr. Baillie's impression that he was a brother of the Rev. Dr. Snodgrass is erroneous.

I have now ascertained from the records in the India Office that Mr. Snodgrass was recommended for employment to the Court of Directors of the East India Company by his father, Mr. Gabriel Snodgrass, an old servant of theirs,[1] who was the author of "A Letter to Lord Dundas on the State of the British Navy." The Directors acted upon the recommendation, and gave the lad a Writership at Fort St. George, in 1777. In 1782 he was promoted to the grade of Factor; in 1790 he became Senior Merchant and Assistant Resident at Ganjam; and in 1791 he was appointed Resident. Those were the "good old times," when the pagoda tree flourished

[1] Mr. Gabriel Snodgrass died in July, 1799, at the age of eighty, after having been Surveyor to the East India Company for at least forty years. A portrait of him, "from an original picture by Stewart," was published in the *European Magazine* of that month, and was accompanied by a notice of his career. He is stated to have been "brought up in the King's yard at Chatham, and from thence went to India, where he was employed in the capacity of a builder of ships for the Company's service. At this time the vessels built there were chiefly for trade and defence, but on a smaller scale than the present flourishing state of the trade demands. This employment he continued many years; and, on his return to England, with a very moderate fortune, he was engaged as Surveyor by the same Masters; in which station he continued to superintend the Naval concerns of the Company with the most inflexible integrity, and the most disinterested attention, until the day of his death, at a very moderate salary, by no means adequate to the task, and the heavy responsibility attached to his office. Sensible of this, the Company a few years since presented him with a few thousand pounds by way of gratuity, and about the same time allowed him an assistant."

in India, and yielded golden fruit by strenuous shaking. So Mr. Snodgrass made diligent use of the opportunity afforded him as Resident to get a grip of that now extinct tree. During the two following years he showed considerable energy in battling with the horrors of famine, and in keeping refractory Zemindars in order. Among the buildings that he erected at this period, with the aid, it is supposed, of the labour of famine-stricken coolies paid by the State, was a large house at Rambha, ten miles from the town of Ganjam, and on the border of that Chilka Lake, which was described by the late Sir William Hunter, in the "Gazetteer of India," as "a majestic sheet of water, with very varied, and, in parts, exceedingly picturesque scenery." This house, which became his favourite place of residence, still stands to keep his memory green in the District. The Government of Sir Charles Oakeley, with their treasury ever at a low ebb, objected to the scale of Mr. Snodgrass's famine expenditure; and partly, perhaps, on this account, but avowedly in order that he might take a Revenue oath which had been prescribed by Act of Parliament, they directed him to return to Madras. No sooner, however, had he left Ganjam than various Zemindars lodged complaints with the acting Resident that they had periodically paid sums of money to Gopaul Kishnamma, Mr. Snodgrass's dubash, for which they received no acknowledgment. The acting Resident instituted inquiries, which resulted in the discovery that Mr. Snodgrass had shown much laxity in allowing the dubash an authority which the latter utilised for his own advantage. The dubash was brought to book, and ordered to refund the money which he had embezzled. At first he declined to do so; but, after a short experience of the hardships incidental to confinement in jail, he yielded to necessity, disgorged the amount claimed, was released, and was heard of no more. As for Mr. Snodgrass, the Government considered it inexpedient to permit him to resume his appointment. In 1794 the appointment was abolished, and, the office of Collector having been substituted, Mr. Walter Balfour was appointed to it. It is possible that this gentleman was related to Mr. James Balfour, appointed Writer in Madras in 1793—

grandfather of the present Prime Minister of England—who amassed a huge fortune in four years in Madras,[1] but on this point I have no information.

In 1797 the Madras Government so far overlooked Mr. Snodgrass's neglect as Resident that they appointed him successor to Mr. Balfour as Collector. But it soon appeared that, instead of having learnt a useful lesson during the four years that he was "unemployed" at the Presidency, Mr. Snodgrass had developed failings which resulted in his administration in Ganjam becoming—according to Mr. Maltby, M.C.S., in the "District Manual" — "notorious by the wholesale corruption which he allowed to prevail in every department of Government." Gopaul Kishnamma had disappeared, but Mr. Snodgrass found a bird of the same feather in Jagannatha Rao, whom he appointed dubash, and to whom he conceded arbitrary power. Thereupon "defalcations of the revenue, coupled with fraud and wholesale oppression," became the order of the day. The dubash set up a small Court of his own at the town of Ganjam, to

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[1] In his *Memoirs*, which are noticed in subsequent pages, Captain Elers, of the 12th Regiment of Foot, stated that in 1803 he made the acquaintance in Madras of a "civilian, named James Balfour," regarding whom he said :—"The Hon'ble Basil Cochrane had for many years held the contract for supplying the Navy with meat, provisions, etc., and made a very handsome fortune, but he kept open house for every officer in the Navy—from the poor middy to the Post-Captain. This must have reduced his means of saving a very large fortune, which he might otherwise have done. My friend James Balfour, soon after I left India, got Cochrane's situation. He only held it a very few years, and he had made £300,000, and left a Scotchman by the name of MacCounachy to act for him, at an allowance of £6,000 per annum. Balfour made his enormous fortune in about four years, as he told me. He bought a house in Grosvenor Square, became an M.P., and married a daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. He did not, like Cochrane, keep open house, or, if he did, it was only the doors and windows." Mr. Balfour, it may be added, died in April, 1845, "immensely wealthy"—according to the *Annual Register*—"his personal estate within the province of Canterbury being sworn under £80,000, and that in Scotland as exceeding £1,000,000."

which Zemindars and others who felt the need of his favour had to resort, and not with empty hands. Mr. Snodgrass "cared for none of these things," and remained, as a rule, at Rambha, where he not only had a large number of sepoys, peons, and other attendants in his employ, but "as an indispensable addition to the character he supported, the captivating allurements of a despotic dancing-woman to encourage and promote intrigue, dissipation and extravagance." So, what between the Collector's neglect of his duties, and the dubash's rascality, the District speedily lapsed into a melancholy condition, which was reflected in a serious decline in the revenue. Then the Government of Lord Clive called upon Mr. Snodgrass to give an account of his stewardship. Accordingly, he attributed the deficiency of the revenue to the failure of the monsoon, the consequent loss of the crops, the scarcity of specie, the disaffection of certain Zemindars, disturbances among the Khonds, and the want of a military force sufficient to maintain order. But the Madras Board of Revenue were not deceived. They expressed the opinion to the Government that "a more extraordinary statement in extenuation of a gross defalcation of revenue has, we believe, never before been submitted by a Collector." The Government being led to a similar conclusion, removed Mr. Snodgrass from the office of Collector, and conferred it upon Mr. Brown. But some time elapsed after Mr. Brown arrived at Ganjam before he succeeded in prevailing upon Mr. Snodgrass to "give over charge."

Mr. Brown now commenced the Herculean task of cleansing the Augean stable that Mr. Snodgrass left behind him when he set sail for Madras. Ere long he reported to the Government that he found what was "once a most flourishing and delightful tract of country" reduced "to nearly the last ebb of a depopulated and frightful waste." He placed the dubash under arrest; but he never succeeded in ascertaining the full extent of the man's embezzlements. He traced two of them, amounting in all to Rs. 168,000, to him, and had him prosecuted for that misappropriation of public money; but the disturbed state of the country, and more especially a rebellion at Goom-

sur, occupied too much of Mr. Brown's time to allow of his bringing the prosecution to a successful issue. Mr. Maltby states that the "general reports" of the Board of Revenue supply no details of the administration of that District between 1793 and 1801; while the District records of that period are said to have been either destroyed by Mr. Brown, or consumed by white ants. Mr. Spottiswoode, Collector, declared that the papers were burnt by Mr. Brown; but Mr. Maltby is at a loss to understand the motive that prompted Mr. Brown to commit such an outrage. Mr. Maltby mentions that a story is current in the District that Mr. Snodgrass not only dropped his accounts into the Chilka Lake, in order that they might not be brought up in evidence against him, but that he threatened Mr. Brown's life if he ventured to go to Rambha. Be this as it may, Mr. Brown succeeded in obtaining a great deal of information of a nature that caused the Government to think of prosecuting Mr. Snodgrass for the malpractices alleged against him. But some question arose as to the power possessed by the Supreme Court to deal with such a matter, and eventually Government thought it prudent to refrain from taking action in the matter. They permitted Mr. Snodgrass to remain "without employ" at the Presidency from the end of 1800 until 1804, when he was declared by the Government of Lord William Bentinck to be "out of the Service." Thereupon he got together his goods and chattels, and embarked for England, after a residence in India of about twenty-seven years, during which, though he had drawn a very moderate official salary, he succeeded in accumulating a large fortune.

As Mr. Snodgrass did not bring home with him an unblemished reputation in addition to his fortune, it is not surprising to find that, soon after his arrival in London, he was informed that his late "honourable masters" at the East India House, in Leadenhall Street, had determined to refuse him the customary grant of a pension for long and laudable service. Thereupon it occurred to him to beard the lions at the door of their den. He had no need of pension, but he determined, as a matter of principle, not to speak of spite, to assert his right to that recognition of length, if not also of

quality of service. He, however, deemed it respectful to the Chairman and Court of Directors to give them timely warning of his intention to take some action which would be distasteful to them if they remained of the same mind as to withholding what he maintained was his due.

The Court did not deign to reply to this threat. So, after he had allowed a short space of time to elapse, he proceeded to carry it out. He purchased some tattered garments that had seen better days, and an old broom; and having attired himself in the former, and armed himself with the latter, he proceeded to Leadenhall Street, and calmly set up in business as the sweeper of a crossing immediately opposite the East India House. He made no secret about his identity. He was no disguised mendicant; he was, he informed all and sundry, with engaging candour, the former Collector, or chief administrator, of a wealthy Province in India, which was possessed by the Company; and that, although he had been their good and faithful servant, he had been refused an allowance for his declining years, and was left in the street to beg his bread. Then, as now, Leadenhall Street was one of the chief thoroughfares in the City of London, and it benefited in public estimation by the distinction reflected by the presence in it of the palatial India House, which was regarded by passers-by as the outward and visible symbol of the close connection between Great Britain and the "gorgeous East." The public mind had long been familiarised by fact, fiction and the drama with Indian Nabobs—gentlemen, who, by all accounts, literally rolled in riches, and were remarkable for their extravagant mode of living, elastic morality and irascible tempers. Yet, here was a former Indian Civil Servant, of mature years, filling the useful, if not dignified rôle of crossing-sweeper, in the street peculiarly identified with India. This was indeed a novelty that gave food for facetious talk to gossips in the City, and fashionable folk in the West End.

Doubtless Mr. Snodgrass did his best to look the part he was playing; and accepted, and pocketed, the pennies that were given him as a much-wronged public servant. But his presence in the road before their House, caused a severe shock to the

susceptibilities of the Chairman and Directors; especially as they could only obtain access to, and egress from the House by means of the large doors at the top of the flight of steps immediately before which he plied his broom. It is true that there was an outlet from the back of the House into a by-street leading into Leadenhall Market, but it was reserved for the use of porters and messengers, and the members of the Court would have sacrificed that dignity of which they were always such jealous guardians had they condescended to indulge in such a strategic movement to the rear in order to avoid the hateful sight of the amateur crossing-sweeper, and to escape the ridicule of the loiterers who were standing by. They might have had it in mind to call in what passed in those ante-Peel days for a policeman, but how could they frame a charge? Mr. Snodgrass was committing no offence; he was violating no Municipal regulation; indeed, he was occupying the position of a public benefactor, especially on rainy and consequently muddy days. Lastly, he was the object of public sympathy.

The Court had vast powers in Hindustan, which they were not slow to exercise with severity when occasion required the assertion of their despotic authority, yet now, at their very doors, they were laughed to scorn by a former servant of theirs. And they had no remedy. This was too much, especially as it threatened to establish what might prove an embarrassing precedent. So, after the Court had fumed awhile without discovering a method for relieving themselves of the scandal in the street, they arrived at the conclusion that their wisest course would be to negotiate with Mr. Snodgrass. The request was therefore conveyed to him to withdraw with his stagey apparatus from his point of vantage as a preliminary to their reconsideration of his case. But he, with all deference, informed their envoy that he would do no such thing, for he was resolved to remain at the crossing until he received the pension usually granted to a man of his official standing, and that, too, from the date when his services were dispensed with. The Chairman and Directors did not stand long to their guns; but they brought themselves to pass a Resolution which conceded

him the whole of his demands. And the story goes—as related some years ago by the *Pioneer*, and subsequently repeated on that authority by Mr. Baillie—that "the next day Mr. Snodgrass, attired in frock coat and tall hat, drove up in a carriage and pair, or rather with four horses, as stated in earlier accounts, to thank the Court in person for his pension, and, at the conclusion of his address, he is said to have added :—'You have now made up my income to £5,000 a year.'" The feelings of his honourable hearers when he made this frank admission may be better imagined than described.

Mr. Snodgrass was now free to indulge the taste for luxurious surroundings which he had cultivated so sedulously in the beautiful vicinity of the Chilka Lake. He took a large house in Chesterfield Street, Mayfair, then, as now, one of the fashionable parts of the town; and he had it decorated and furnished in a "sumptuous manner"; but, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, he "never received company in it more than once." After a while his official shortcomings were forgotten, or condoned, and he gravitated to the best set of "old Indians" of his period. Thus it came to pass that he was associated, in 1824, with the establishment of the Oriental Club, one of those institutions in London where, according to a witty Bishop quoted by Mr. Baillie, "women cease from troubling, and the wicked are at rest." The first meeting of the promoters of this Club was held under the auspices, as Chairman, of that eminent Officer of the Madras Army, General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., who subsequently became Governor of Bombay; and a Committee of forty-four gentlemen was elected to carry out the scheme. Mr. Snodgrass was one of the number, and among his colleagues were Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K.G., who had spent some of the best years of his early life in Madras; Lord William Bentinck, G.C.B., a former Governor of Madras, and who subsequently became Governor-General of India; General Sir Alured Clark, G.C.B., a former Commander-in-Chief, first of Madras and then in India; General Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart, G.C.B., a former Commander-in-Chief of Madras;

General Sir John Malcolm, and his brother, Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, K.C.B., etc.

This Committee resolved that it was "desirable to form a society on the plan set forth" in the prospectus that was adopted. Sir John Malcolm was honoured with the intimate friendship of the Duke of Wellington, under whom he had served in Madras, as also that of the Marquis Wellesley, whose Private Secretary he became (on the recommendation of the Duke,) while that nobleman was Governor General of India; and the Duke readily accepted the office of first President of the Club, and held it for the ensuing twenty-eight years, or until his death in 1852. At the first meeting of the Committee Mr. Snodgrass was one of the five members of that body who were appointed a Sub-Committee to prepare a code of Rules and Regulations. The Club was opened in the following June in Lower Grosvenor Street, and the first contribution to its now notable collection of portraits of Indian celebrities was made by Mr. Snodgrass, who presented a portrait of General Stringer Lawrence, a former Commander-in-Chief, first of Madras, and then for twenty years in India.

It was in the year 1819 that Mr. Snodgrass was elected a member of the Committee of the Marine Society, and he not only retained that position for the following fifteen years, but he was very regular in his attendance at the Committee meetings, and he was careful in paying periodical visits of inspection to the *Warspite*. He was also a supporter of the Seamen's Hospital. On his death the Committee resolved to procure a portrait of him to preserve among the memorials of the same description of other benefactors of the Society; and while they were making inquiries for one, Major John Smith, of the Madras Cavalry, one of his executors, wrote to say that he could place at their disposal a full-length, life-size portrait of him that was painted in India, and had been discovered in a very dilapidated condition (presumably in Mr. Snodgrass's house), and had been restored by Mr. Runagle, a Royal Academician. The Committee gladly accepted the offer, and the picture has now been hung seventy years in the office of the Society. The restoration could

hardly have been a success, for the picture[1] is now in a deplorable condition owing to the fading of the colours. But it was this picture that prompted me, as I have explained in a former page, to glean some particulars about Mr. Snodgrass's career.

Mr. Snodgrass died on August 29, 1834, at his house in Chesterfield Street, aged probably seventy-five, assuming that he was sixteen when he was appointed Writer in Madras. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of the following October stated that he "left the sum of £175,000 to the daughter of a widow lady named Russell, residing in Beaumont Street, Marylebone, entirely because her father was kind to him when he first went to India." This is incorrect as to the sum bequeathed to Miss Russell, and it is possible that the explanation of the bequest is unreliable. I have seen Mr. Snodgrass's will at Somerset House. It was executed three years before his death. It commences as follows :—"Lest I should fail to make a more formal testamentary disposition of my affairs before it should please the Almighty to summon me hence I will and desire being now in sound mind and memory that the following be considered as exhibiting my real intentions as to the disposal and distribution of my property in revocation of any former Will." Having expressed "the desire to be interred in the vault in Charlton Churchyard in which the remains of my father and mother are deposited," and that "my funeral be unostentatious," he proceeded to say :—

> I give to my friend Gabriel Gillett of Upper Guildford Street Foundling Hospital all my property in India whether in land or house or funds or in money to be transferred to him at Madras. This property consists in a house and land at Rhumbah on the shores of the Chilka Lake untenanted for the last thirty years in a Company bond for two thousand five hundred rupees and in a running balance of account in the hands of my agents Messieurs Binny and Company.

He appointed "Eliza Russell spinster of 52 Beaumont Street," Mr. Gillett, Mr. Hugh Edwards, and Major John Smith, late of the Madras Cavalry, to be his "executrix and

[1] The photograph of the faded picture that was taken for the purposes of this volume was so unsatisfactory that I ventured to subject it to a little touching up before its swantype reproduction.

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE,

Before which Mr Snodgrass kept his crossing.

CHARLTON CHURCH.

The resting place of Mr. Snodgrass.

executors," and he left each of the executors £1,000. He gave them £1,000 Bank stock upon trust to receive and pay the dividends thereof unto Elizabeth Gillett, widow of Jonathan Gillett, and Mrs. Coward, widow of Henry Coward of Chatham "in like proportion as I have paid to them some years through the agency of my friend Gabriel Gillett." He gave £1,000 "Bank stock unto my friend Anne Jeffrey spinster late of Poole and now of Taunton"; £1,000 Bank stock to Charlotte Hempstead, spinster, his housekeeper; £400 Bank stock to Thomas Fluck, his butler; £200 sterling to Henry Basson, his footman; £200 sterling to Rebecca Partridge, spinster, his upper housemaid; £100 sterling to Anne Danes, spinster, his under housemaid; and £100 sterling to Sarah Slenson, spinster, his cook. Then :—"I give to the Trustees of the Marine Society Bishopsgate Street for the benefit of that Charity £1,000 Bank stock." He made a similar bequest of £1,000 Bank stock to the Seamen's Hospital, Bishopsgate Street. He mentioned that, under his father's Will, his sister, Elizabeth Snodgrass, residing at Poole, received an annuity of £300, which, on her decease, would fall into his own estate by deed of Chancery, and he desired that this also should go to the residuary. He gave his Executrix and Executors £5,000 Bank stock, and directed them to devote the dividends thereon to his sister's use after a certain date, should she live so long, such sum, on her decease, to fall into the residuary. He then proceeded to say :—

> I have inscriptions in the great Book of Paris to the amount of a million of francs (£40,000) in the three per cents yielding thirty thousand francs (£1,200) annual interest I give this stock to the aforenamed Eliza Russell spinster of 52 Beaumont Street and desire it may be properly transferred to her name in the great Book at Paris I give also to the said Eliza Russell spinster my house No. 10 Chesterfield Street with everything it contains not otherwise specially allotted I also give to the said Eliza Russell spinster my stables No. 4 Hays Mews together with my carriage and all other my property therein.

In conclusion, he appointed Miss Russell, Mr. Gillett, Mr. Edwards and Major Smith his residuary legatees, and recommended "my present servants to their kind protection."

Mr. Snodgrass was buried beside his parents in the church-

yard of the old parish church at Charlton, near Woolwich. The vault is marked by a tomb within railings. On one side of it there is an inscription, which states that it was erected "to the memory of Gabriel Snodgrass Esq., an old and faithful servant of the East India Company," and "of his consort, Mary," by "their dutiful and affectionate son, Thomas." On the other, the weather side, is a brief inscription,[1] stating that Mr. Snodgrass was also interred there. A little distance off is the grave, marked by a cross, of his friend, General Sir Thomas Hislop, who died at Charlton in 1843, aged seventy-nine. There is a handsome white marble tablet in the chancel of the church, on which the General's military services are recorded, and it is stated that :—"In private life his generosity of heart, and kindness of feeling were unfailing, and she[2] who best knew the rare excellence of her beloved and lamented Husband's character erects this tablet in testimony of her affection and sorrow." Among other notable persons buried at Charlton may be mentioned Sir William Langhorne, Governor of Fort St. George 1670 to 1677; Mr. Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister, who was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons in 1812; Sir William Congreve, the inventor of the rockets that bear his name; General Sir Augustus Frazer, K.C.B., who was present at several battles during the Peninsular War, and also at Waterloo; Major-General Sir George Fisher, K.C.B.; and several of the Maryon-Wilson Baronets, whose beautiful seat is at Charlton.

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[1] As the inscription is almost illegible it throws no light upon the age of Mr. Snodgrass.

[2] Lady Hislop was daughter of the Right Hon'ble Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras (1814 to 1820), and niece of the first Earl of Minto, Governor General of India (1813 to 1823). Her daughter married the third Earl of Minto, her second cousin; and the present Earl of Minto, late Governor General of Canada, is her son. Consequently, the late Governor General of Canada is a great-grandson of a former Governor General of India, a great-grand-nephew of a former Governor of Madras, and a grandson of a former Commander-in-Chief of Madras. The late Countess of Minto, his mother, (*née* Hislop), died in 1882. She was the author of a very interesting and pathetic memoir of her husband's grandfather, and her own grand-uncle, the Governor General of India.

CHAPTER X

TWO MADRAS EDUCATIONISTS

It was on February 14, 1832, that the interment of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Ed., for some time a Chaplain of Fort St. George, took place at Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Lichfield, Lord Kenyon, several Naval and Military Officers, and other of his friends; and shortly afterwards an inscription was placed on his tombstone in the nave, in which he is described as, "The Eminent Founder of the Madras System of Education." Before his death, at the age of seventy-nine years, he made over to trustees the sum of £120,000 for employment in educational and benevolent work; and of this sum he assigned £50,000 for the erection and endowment of the Madras College at St. Andrews, which he founded. He was a native of St. Andrews—the Mecca of devotees of the Royal and Ancient game of golf long before, and ever since his time—for he was born there on March 27, 1753. His father was a barber, who combined with the useful avocation of cutting hair, dressing wigs, and shaving, the practice of surgery, and prided himself on being the descendant of the first person in the city who not only introduced tea, but could boast the possession of a china tea service. The elder Bell was also somewhat of a mechanician; and, in the intervals of his business as a barber, he addressed himself to the congenial task of repairing clocks and watches, and regulating public timepieces. He was at one time Bailie of the city; and he was also the owner of a little landed property. His wife was distantly related to a Dean, who in 1690 bequeathed money for the founding of a bursary at St.

Andrews. The Bailie and his wife were blessed with eight children. Andrew was the second son. He thus became an illustration of the theory that second sons are often the most capable members of large families.

In 1769 he matriculated in the College of St. Andrews, and applied himself to mathematics and natural philosophy. Having completed the usual course of study with much credit to himself, he looked about for an opening that might afford him a competency. But he lacked influence outside St. Andrews; and in that ancient, but then unprogressive city, there was little chance of his finding congenial employment. He resolved, therefore, to emigrate to Virginia, in America; and having been furnished with testimonials as to his high character and scholarly attainments by the authorities of the University, two ministers of the church, and the session-clerk of St. Andrews, he sailed from Glasgow early in 1774, and safely reached his destination. He was then twenty-one years of age, and he spent five years in Virginia engaged in general tuition. In 1779 he was retained as a tutor by a Mr. Braxton, a wealthy merchant of West Point, for the two sons of the latter, on the modest salary of £200 a year; and a couple of years later he closed with that gentleman's proposition to take the two lads with him on his return home, and to superintend their education. He had lived frugally during the seven years that he spent in Virginia, for he saved between £800 and £900, the greater part of which he left on interest in Mr. Braxton's hands, and eventually lost when that gentleman was ruined a little later on. He was shipwrecked on the voyage to England, but at length reached Gravesend with his young charges. He made a brief stay in London, and then went to St. Andrews, accompanied by the lads, whose studies he personally superintended. He opened a mathematical class at St. Andrews, and otherwise made both ends meet; but his prospects were none of the best, and after the young Braxtons had returned to Virginia, he proceeded to London, and took orders in the English Church.

He was now licensed to the curacy of Cookham, in Berkshire, on £70 a year. But soon afterwards he accepted the

Painted by William Owen R. A. Engraved by S. W. Reynolds.

THE REV. DR. ANDREW BELL, D.D., F.R.S.
Discoverer of the Madras System of Education.

offer of Lord Conyngham to act as tutor to that peer's son, on a salary of £150 a year while so employed, and an annuity of £100 for life when the young man's education was completed. But Lord Dacre died, and Lord Conyngham, on second thoughts, declined to carry out his engagement. Mr. Bell claimed compensation for his disappointment, and on the matter being submitted to arbitration he was awarded a solatium of £110. It was suggested to him about this time that he should betake himself to India, as his chances of preferment in England and Scotland were slender; and a free passage in the ship *Rose* having been offered to him by the brother of the Captain of that vessel, he solicited and obtained permission from the Directors of the East India Company to proceed to Bengal. He applied to the University of St. Andrews for a Doctor's degree, and, somewhat to his surprise, he received that of a Doctor of Medicine—though he had never studied medicine—instead of that of Doctor of Laws. It was then explained to him that the University had always given this degree to "men eminent for their literary qualification without following any professional line," and it reserved the LL.D. degree "for persons of another description, men in the highest rank, who have been eminently serviceable to their country, or to the University." The lesser honour met his requirements, and the Reverend Doctor of Medicine left Scotland for India on November 20 1787, when he was in his thirty-fifth year. He was then possessed of the £110 paid by Lord Conyngham, £70 borrowed at interest from a Mr. MacTaggart, £20 borrowed from the Rev. Mr. Rudd of Edinburgh, and about £350 besides, or £550 in all; but after he had fitted himself out, and purchased the apparatus for a course of lectures that he intended to deliver in India, he had a cash balance of only £128.

The *Rose* sailed from London on February 21, 1787, and reached Madras on June 2 following, or in 101 days—the shortest passage, he recorded in his notes, that had ever been made from England to that port. He was, as has been said, bound for Bengal, and he was furnished with cordial letters

of introduction to Earl Cornwallis, the Governor General, and Sir John Macpherson; but he was not provided with any letters to persons of influence in Madras, other than those which the Captain of the ship and fellow-passengers could give him. Yet he met with so kind a reception in Madras, that he determined to remain there to assist in the establishment of the Male Orphan Asylum. The Government being approached granted him permission to remain instead of proceeding to Calcutta. Accordingly he commenced his career in Madras with his small capital of £128, and his apparatus. He lived for the first six months of his sojourn in the Presidency with Mr. Andrew Ross, who is described as having been a remarkable and influential man in the city at that period. He made other useful friends; and in August, or only two months after his arrival, he was appointed by "the Board," Chaplain to the 4th European Regiment at Arcot, on the recommendation of the Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell. Nine days later he was nominated Deputy Chaplain of the 19th Regiment of European Cavalry; in October he obtained the Deputy-Chaplainship of H.M. 36th Regiment, at Poonamallee; and, on the day following, he was appointed Deputy Chaplain of the 52nd Regiment. The Deputy Chaplainships needed no confirmation by the authorities of the India Office, but the Chaplainship was subject to their approval, and they were habitually indisposed to sanction any infringement of their own jealously exercised patronage. Dr. Bell lost no time, therefore, in begging his friends in London to bring their influence to bear to secure the necessary confirmation. He continued to add to the number of his appointments before the Directors' decision was known, and among other things he became Junior Chaplain at Fort St. George. He thus obtained no less than eight different billets, and his biographer, Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate, remarked that "some of these offices may have been sinecures, but there is good proof among Dr. Bell's papers that none of them were sine-salaries." The Court of Directors annulled his first appointment; but a few days later, in compliance with the urgent requests of his friends, were

pleased to cancel their original order, and to issue the desired confirmation. He made a little money by philosophical lectures, which were attended by the beauty and fashion of Madras ; he travelled about a good deal, retaining Madras as his head-quarters ; and, being easy in his mind as to his circumstances, and in the enjoyment of sound health, he formed a high opinion of Southern India as a place for a European to dwell in. In a letter to a friend in England he said :—" What a delightful climate is this ! The weather never changes for months. If we could number as many women as men, and could boast of such domestic society as happy families, like yours, present in Great Britain, I know not who would quit India. I know not who does but to repent of it. My heart tells me, I shall quit it if I can ; but my understanding whispers to me I may repent of it as others have done."

He was associated, as has been said, with the establishment of the Male Orphan Asylum, of which, when it had been constituted, he became the first Superintendent. He was offered a salary in recognition of his indefatigable services in that capacity, but he declined to be in any way a burden on the struggling institution. The Asylum proved a great success from the outset, mainly owing to his sagacity and energy. Happening one morning to ride past a native school, he observed the children seated on the ground writing with their fingers in the sand, and this led him to employ sharp boys at the Asylum to teach their less clever comrades, or to make boys act as assistant teachers as well as monitors. " Every boy," he subsequently wrote, " is either a master or a scholar, and generally both. He teaches one boy, while another teaches him. The success has been rapid." This was the chief feature of what he designated as the " Madras system of education." While achieving his object of establishing, with the aid of an influential Committee, and under the sympathetic auspices of the Government, an institution that abundantly fulfilled the aims which were in view, he built up a pretty fortune. In January, 1796, he applied to the Government for leave, on the score of failing health, to return to Europe, " without

prejudice to my rank, or loss of pay." The leave was granted by Lord Hobart. The Committee of the Asylum thereupon made an offer to defray the expenses of the voyage; but he gratefully yet firmly declined to avail himself of it. He did not leave Madras until August, by which date he had been nine years in Madras. He took home with him, or remitted the fortune which he had made during that short period of no less than £25,935. His income from his various appointments is said to have averaged nearly 4,000 pagodas, or about £1,600 a year; his lectures yielded 3,329 pagodas, or about £1,330; and the rest of his accumulations were acquired by judicious investments in "the stocks."

He reached Portsmouth on February 5, 1797, and soon afterwards resolved to resign the Indian service. He submitted his resignation to the Directors of the East India Company, recounted his services, especially as the unpaid Superintendent of the Male Orphan Asylum, and was granted a pension of £200 a year, which he enjoyed for the succeeding five-and-thirty years. And he may be said to have devoted that large portion of his life to the task of introducing the "Madras system of education" into the United Kingdom. He had the honour of personally explaining it to Queen Charlotte, the consort of King George the Third. Her Majesty received him on June 8, 1817, at Princess Elizabeth's farm at Windsor. She was then advanced in life. Her reception of him was, he said, most gracious and condescending. "She talked much, and much to the purpose, and called me back. She was desirous of learning the A. B. C., for so Her Majesty often called it, as I had done on my arrival from India." Two days later she accorded him another reception at the farm. "Books and slates were prepared. Nobody but the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth were with her. They were seated at a table. The Queen placed me by her side, and went through all our processes in lessons, monosyllables and polysyllables, and in reading and arithmetic. Her Majesty did all the sums by herself. On going she expressed the pleasure she had in making my acquaintance. She said many a tear arithmetic had cost her, so also said the Princesses, and Her Majesty wished

she had to learn it again." Dr. Bell also explained his system to the Czar Alexander I, and other personages; he enlisted the support of eminent representatives of the clergy and laity; and, one way and another, he gave a new turn to education in his own country and abroad. Having succeeded in introducing his methods into many schools in London and the provinces he felt himself justified in saying to a correspondent, that "in every instance where the principle of the Male Asylum of Madras, of conducting a school by the scholars themselves has been partially attempted, it has partially succeeded, and wherever it has been adopted in full force, and carried to its just length, it has been accompanied with complete and wonderful success." And, in a letter to Lord Kenyon, regarding the difference between discovery and invention, he alluded to electricity, lightning, Franklinean rods, gravitation, steam, etc., and continued :—"To mention but one more on account of its 'transcendant excellency.' The principle of mutual instruction is a discovery; the Madras system, or application of that principle to scholastic purposes is an invention."

In the autumn of 1830 Dr. Bell, who was then seventy-seven years of age, began to experience difficulty in articulation, especially when preaching in Westminster Abbey; and, leaving London, he took up his residence at a small house that he owned at Cheltenham, where he placed himself under medical treatment. Matters did not, however, mend with him; and, in February, 1831, he was urged to go to London for change of air. But he replied that this was impracticable: "My loss of voice would render me insupportable to my friends, as well as distressing to myself. I have great difficulty in making myself intelligible to my present nurses—what should I be to others?" The doctors at Cheltenham differed as to his malady, one of them inclining to the view that ossification of the upper part of the windpipe was in progress, while another considered that the nerves of the larynx and the organs of deglutition were, to some extent, paralysed. So the opinion was invited, by letter, of Sir Henry Halford; and that eminent physician in London prescribed cupping on

the nape of the neck. Then a similar reference was made to Sir Benjamin Brodie, another conspicuous physician in town, and he endorsed Sir Henry Halford's diagnosis and advice. Accordingly Dr. Bell was cupped; but he derived no benefit from the operation. A "case" was then sent to Sir Astley Cooper, the great surgeon, who held that the "seat of the disease was in that part of the brain from which the eighth pair of nerves originate, and was confined to those branches which were distributed to the tongue, and the larynx, and neighbouring parts." He sent a prescription, which was tried, and failed to confer any benefit upon the patient. Then a Cheltenham doctor made an experiment with galvanism, but without effect.

It was thus brought painfully home to Dr. Bell that his case defied medical science, and that it behoved him to put his affairs into order with the least possible delay. One of the first things, therefore, that he did was to order a holocaust that must have caused him some pangs. The Rev. Charles Southey—who wrote the latter part of the biography that his father (who received a legacy of £1,000 from Dr. Bell) commenced, but did not live long enough to complete—said:—

> During Dr. Bell's illness he committed many of his papers to the flames, which, on the whole, was perhaps a fortunate circumstance for his biographer; for having throughout his life till now preserved every letter and even note he received, had he not destroyed some of them, the composition of his *Life* would have been still more difficult and laborious than it has been, while it is highly improbable that any new information of importance could have been derived from them.

Dr. Bell was frequently induced to make, or to revoke new wills and codicils. In 1818 he bequeathed almost the whole of his accumulations to the town of St. Andrews, his birthplace; in 1825 he cancelled his will to that effect, and by a fresh will devoted his fortune to the endowment of what was to be a Madras College, or School, in the vicinity of London, of which a Mr. Bamford was to be Master, with a handsome salary. He had previously dispensed with the

professional services of a solicitor in drawing up his wills; he was his own lawyer and client. But at last he thought it well to consult Southey on the subject; and, in compliance with the poet's recommendation, he now employed a firm of attorneys at Cheltenham. The attorneys at his request drew up a new will, in which several trustees were named; and the gentlemen referred to, when asked, signified their acceptance of the trust. Then, however, Dr. Bell refused to execute the will; and, having placed himself in communication with his bankers in London, he obtained from them two powers of attorney which he executed, wherein he made a transfer of £60,000 in the Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, and £60,000 in the Three per Cent. Reduced, or £120,000 in all, in twelve shares of £10,000 each, to the Provost of St. Andrews, the Minister and Second Minister of the Parish Church of St. Andrews, and the Professor of Greek at the University of St. Andrews, or their successors in office, as his trustees. Five of the twelve shares, representing the sum of £50,000, were allotted by Dr. Bell for

> the establishment, or maintenance of the Madras College, or Seminary of education, upon the grounds which I lately purchased for this purpose, adjoining the Grammar School of St. Andrews, and including the ruin of the Blackfriars' Chapel, which it is my desire may be put into, and kept in repair, out of part of these five shares, and also that the endowment of the bursaries proposed by you, and agreed to by me, be defrayed out of the same shares—the College to be conducted on the Madras (or, as it is often called, the monitorial) system of education, conformably to the principles and practice laid down in my Elements of Tuition, parts 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, in my Manual of Mutual Instruction and Moral Discipline, in my Vindication of Children, and in my Letters to Sir John Sinclair—as to form a model of that system.

As regards the remaining seven-twelfths of the £120,000, he directed the trustees to give one share each, or £10,000, to St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Inverness respectively. There was yet one share, or £10,000, to be allocated; and Dr. Bell waited until he happened to read an account in a newspaper of a meeting that was held

in London, on the 16th June, 1831, for the establishment of a Royal Naval School at New Cross, near Greenwich. Therefore he exclaimed, "This is a godsend!" and authorized the trustees to give the share to that nascent institution.

To Miss Bell, his sister, who was living at the time with him, Dr. Bell wrote a note to say that he bestowed upon her "the cottage and grounds" at Cheltenham,

> and all the appurtenances and premises belonging to them, and all my furniture, goods, and chattels, books and letters, and MSS. here and at Sherburn house, the carpet and the covering of the Coronation Chair which fell to me[1] at the Coronation of King George the Fourth; and elsewhere, my silver plate, gold coins, rings, chains, trinkets, money, and cash here, and at Messrs. Pitt and Co.'s, bankers, Cheltenham. The tea service presented to me by the vestry of the Cowgate Episcopal Chapel at Edinburgh, and the sacramental plate presented to me by my Indian pupils, of which a duplicate was presented to the Chapel of the National School, Ely Place, London, you have to deliver to the minister and verger for the time being of the Episcopal Chapel of St. Andrews.

Two days more having passed, he then slipped into Miss Bell's hand a piece of paper upon which he had written:— "Bequeath my gold chain and medal to the Madras College, St. Andrews." In face of his gift of so large a sum as £120,000 to public objects, she was led to the conclusion, which she expressed to her friends, that he "was not in his right mind." This came to his knowledge, and he then wrote a note to her, in which he said that it was necessary for his health and peace that she should immediately leave his house; and he gave her the choice of St. Andrews, London, or Malvern. To Malvern, therefore, she at once removed.

Towards the end of 1831 Dr. Bell was so paralysed that he could not speak, and had great difficulty in moving; but he succeeded in making his wishes known by writing on a slate; and he showed no failure of interest in what was related to him about the adoption of the "Madras system of

[1] As Prebendary of Westminster Abbey.

education" ; his memory also was unimpaired. His physical strength, however, steadily ebbed away, and at length, on the 27th January, 1832, he died, in the presence of his doctor, secretary, and two friends, but of no relative. His body was removed, on the 9th of February, from Cheltenham to Berkeley Square, London, where it remained until the 14th idem. Then the funeral procession was formed at the house, and went by way of Piccadilly, Regent Street and Charing Cross, to Westminster Abbey, where the body was met by the Bishop of Lichfield, as the Prebendary in residence, and the Dean of Westminster. The funeral service was read by the Dean.

Dr. Bell expressed the wish that the inscription on his tombstone should be simply :—"The Author of the Madras System of Education." But his friends who subscribed for the memorial tablet in the Abbey had the following epitaph placed upon it :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
ANDREW BELL, D.D. LL.D.
PREBENDARY OF THIS COLLEGIATE CHURCH:
THE EMINENT FOUNDER OF THE MADRAS SYSTEM OF EDUCATION
WHO DISCOVERED AND REDUCED TO SUCCESSFUL PRACTICE
THE PLAN OF MUTUAL INSTRUCTION
FOUNDED UPON THE MULTIPLICATION OF POWER, AND DIVISION OF LABOUR,
IN THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL WORLD,
WHICH HAS BEEN ADOPTED WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE,
AS THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION
OF THE CHILREN OF THE POOR
IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.
DR. BELL WAS BORN IN THE CITY OF ST. ANDREWS, N.B., 27TH OF MARCH 1753,
APPOINTED MINISTER OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH MADRAS 1789
MASTER OF SHERBURN HOSPITAL 1809
PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER 1810
DIED 27TH OF JANUARY 1832.

It does not speak much for the care bestowed by the friends of Dr. Bell on the preparation of this epitaph, that the last date but one is erroneous. This was pointed out by Dean Stanley in his *Historical Memorials* of the Abbey, where he

says, in a footnote, that the monument of "the Scottish Prebendary of Westminster, Andrew Bell, founder of the Madras system of education, mistakenly gives the date of his installation 1810, instead of 1819."

The tablet occupies so high a position above the pavement, and the epitaph is presented in such small characters, as to defy perusal without the aid of a binocular, or of a ladder. The latter I was permitted to have in order to copy the tribute to Dr. Bell's memory. Beneath the tablet with the inscription is another tablet, on which an illustration is given in relief of a scene in a school, that is doubtless intended to depict him engaged in vicarious tuition. A minister in a gown is seen sitting in a chair to the right, with an open book across his knees. He is gazing intently at a lad to the left, who is standing on a stool, holding an open book in his left hand, while with his right hand he is suiting the action to the word for the edification of seven scholars standing in a row before him, with books in their hands, and their backs turned upon the reverend gentleman in the chair.

It is a somewhat sad reflection that Dr. Bell resembled the individual described by Dr. Johnson, (according to Boswell,) and by Disraeli (in "Sybil"), as a "man who had only one idea, and that was wrong." He certainly discovered in Madras, as no other Chaplain has yet done, how to hold numerous well-paid appointments simultaneously, and also how, as a thrifty pluralist and judicious investor, to accumulate a fortune. But the "system of education" which he claimed to have discovered existed rather in his own imagination than in Madras. It is customary in that city for enterprising individuals to eke out a livelihood by setting up what are called "pyal-schools"—or schools located in unpretentious houses by the wayside, provided with "pyals," or platforms, raised two or three feet above the level of the adjacent road. These pyals are commonly used by sundry vendors for the exhibition of their wares by day; and they are employed for the accommodation of male sleepers by night. They also meet the requirements of schoolmasters. Armed with light rattans as symbols of office, those individuals

THE MADRAS COLLEGE, ST. ANDREW'S.

Founded by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, D.D.,

lounge upon them, and bestow more or less attention from their commanding eminence upon the development of the intelligence of the lads squatting, or standing in a row on the road before them. In order to carry on their business with the least possible trouble they delegate authority to the sharper boys, and in Madras, as elsewhere, such boys gladly play the pedagogue over their juniors, or inferiors. Yet this rather primitive method of instruction seems to have been regarded by Dr. Bell as a revelation fraught with blessings untold to the world in general, and to his own country in particular; and, not only did he devote nearly half of his life to the dissemination of that idea, but he certainly impressed what he deemed to be its importance upon illustrious personages, peers, Church dignitaries and others. The idea did not, however, long survive him, for the simple reason that it had no substantial foundation.

Dr. Bell devoted, as has been shown, no less a sum than £50,000 "to the establishment or maintenance of the Madras College" at St. Andrews, such "College to be conducted on the Madras (or, as it is often called, the monitorial) system of education, conformably to the principles and practice laid down" in various publications of his. The College still stands, but it has long ceased to illustrate the "Madras system of education." It struggled along for many years mainly on the strength of Dr. Bell's endowment; but it did not hold its own against other schools in St. Andrews and elsewhere in Scotland. At length, in 1889, it was reorganised in accordance with the scheme of the Commissioners under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act of Parliament, 1882, as a school for both boys and girls, in which "the subjects to be taught shall include reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping and mensuration, geography and history, English grammar, composition and literature, Greek and Latin, at least two modern languages, mathematics, and drawing, at least one subject of natural science, and such other subjects as the Governors may from time to time determine." It is controlled by nine Trustees, elected under the Act as follows:—two by the Senatus of the University of St. Andrews, two by the School Board of

St. Andrews, two by the Landward School Board of St. Andrews, one by the Presbytery of St. Andrews, one by the Sheriff, and one by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Fife. The application of customary ideas about educational requirements in place of the amiable fantasy regarding a "Madras system of education" has saved the situation. The endowment has been for the most part employed since the reorganisation in carrying on Higher Education, and the consequence is that the institution which commemorates Dr. Bell's temporary connexion with Madras, and his personal benevolence, can now show a long list of honours gained by its former pupils at Scotch and English Universities.

The Rev. James Cordiner.

It was on the recommendation of his Madras friend, General Dirom, that Dr. Bell selected James Cordiner, at the early age of twenty-two, to succeed him as Superintendent of the Military Male Orphan Asylum, Madras, on a salary of £200 a year. Cordiner was a son of the Episcopal Minister at Banff, where he was born, and where he received the early part of his education. He subsequently proceeded to King's College, Aberdeen, and made some mark there as a Greek scholar. "He came to me," Dr. Bell wrote to the President and Director of the Asylum, "recommended from the most respectable quarters, as well qualified in point of talent, literature and science for the task proposed to him, and, what is much more valuable, his character stands high as a man and a Christian, as well as a scholar and a divine. On these grounds I have made the appointment . . . Having now also proved, for almost two months, his excellent disposition and temper of mind, his diligence and attention, I cannot but indulge the pleasing hope that he will approve himself highly useful to the institution, and worthy of that favour and protection which in India so generally await good conduct."

Having fallen in with Dr. Bell's overtures, Mr. Cordiner left Banff, and went by way of Aberdeen, Perth, and Kinross to Edinburgh, where he spent a few days with Dr. Bell. Then

he pushed on to Carlisle, and by the writing of a theme in Latin, the reading of thirteen verses in Greek, and the translation of a passage of Grotius, he satisfied the Bishop of Carlisle that he was a fit person for admission to the Ministry. He was thereupon ordained Deacon. Immediately afterwards he took the "heavy coach" for London, and arriving there, secured a lodging in Portland Street, and went without delay, not to Westminster Abbey, or to St. Paul's, but to Drury Lane Theatre, where he witnessed the performance of "The Heiress." From London he travelled in a post-chaise to Portsmouth, and there, on October 25, 1797—or seventy-seven days after leaving Banff—he embarked on board the *Anna*, East Indiaman, bound for Bombay.

The way was long, and the vessel slow, so that Cordiner did not reach Bombay until May 19, 1798. He had brought with him several letters of introduction to persons of influence in Bombay and Madras; and landing without delay, he made his way to the office in the Fort of Mr. Alexander Anderson, a "senior merchant in the Company's service," who begged him to "accept a cot" at his house. Cordiner availed himself of this hospitable invitation. He then called upon General James Stuart, to whom also he presented a letter of introduction. He remained twelve days in Bombay, during which period he found the General "unremitting in his attentions," and Governor Duncan likewise "hospitable and polite." Having been presented by his host "with an unsolicited credit on a house in Madras to the amount of 300 pagodas," and having paid "50 star pagodas, or £20," for his passage, Cordiner embarked, on May 30, in a country ship, nearly the size of a regular East Indiaman, and reached Madras on June 12. He landed in a masulah boat, and hiring a palanquin on the beach, was conveyed to the Male Orphan Asylum, at the "redoubt of Egmore—originally built as a place for manufacturing gunpowder." There he was welcomed by the Rev. R. H. Kerr, a local chaplain, who was officiating as Superintendent. He did not take over charge for six days, which he spent, for the most part, in presenting his letters of introduction, and making acquaintances. Then he

entered upon his duties, as the sole adult teacher of the 280 boys, aged from four to fourteen years of age, then in the Asylum. The greater number of them were the orphans of European Non-commissioned Officers and private soldiers by native women, who were maintained and educated gratis; and the rest were the natural children of European Officers by native mothers, for each of whom the charge of three pagodas a month was made. The accommodation and the fare were of the simplest description, but the boys had known no better, and were docile and teachable. The monitor system of education was in full force, and Cordiner saw much to approve in it.

In a book, entitled *A Voyage to India*, that was published on his behalf in 1820 by Brown, of Aberdeen, and Longmans, of London, and dedicated to the Earl of Guilford, Mr. Cordiner related his experiences at Madras, both in 1798–99 and in 1804. At the earlier date he computed the population of the "Settlement exclusive of its dependencies" at 10,000, of whom not more than 3,000 were Europeans. The Fort was occupied by a garrison of European troops; merchants "in the service of the Company"; and a few European shop-keepers. Every gentleman had a villa in the country at a little distance from the Fort. In these villas their wives and daughters lived without hardly ever approaching the Fort, or even attending service at the Fort Church. The gentlemen were conveyed either in palanquins, or in carriages to and from the Fort; and no one cared to walk, as the heat of the exercise, and the dust on the roads forbade that kind of exercise. But in the early morning, and in the evening, ladies and gentlemen either rode on horses, or took the air in gigs, or chaises.

Then, as now, Black Town was "more truly Indian" than the European quarters in the suburbs, for it "contained a mixture of Hindus, Mahomedans, Armenians, Portuguese and British," with various places of worship. It was defended towards the land by a high and broad wall, on which guns were mounted, capable of keeping Irregular Cavalry at a respectful distance. Some remains of that wall are still to

be seen to the north of the town. However valuable from a military point of view the wall was, it hindered the circulation of air in the narrow streets near it, and was therefore objectionable from a sanitary point of view. But it gave a sense of security in a restless period to the inhabitants of the town. It is no wonder that Cordiner regarded Black Town as "a very uncomfortable place of residence for Europeans." Yet "the climate," he justly remarked, "is not generally unhealthy; it is excessively dry and hot, but the air is extremely pure." The month of May, he rightly said, is the "hottest in the whole year, for the land wind then blows like the flames of a furnace, and the climate altogether resembles the warmest corner of a glass-house." But the temperature inside the houses of Europeans was agreeably lowered by the use of well-watered kus-kus tatties; and "some gentlemen have screens of the same nature attached to the sides of their palanquins, which being kept continually drenched, prevent them from feeling any inconvenience from the sultry nature of the climate." The streets of the Fort were diligently watered by "carts drawn by oxen, with boxes and casks full of holes, so that the water falls like a shower of rain as they move along."

There was "a very large and excellent society at Madras" which was "divided into various parties":—

Many of the British inhabitants affect great splendour in their mode of living, and move in a very different sphere from what they have been accustomed to in their own country. The Civil Servants of the Company are looked upon as the nobility of India. They assume an air of much consequence, often treat the rest of their countrymen with supercilious arrogance, and behold, with particular disdain, the profession of the sword, to which they owe all their pomp and splendour. The private merchants are more modest in their deportment, although fully sensible of their independence. The lawyers make money rapidly, as the litigation prevalent in the country affords them great employment; and they, being in general the best educated part of the community, form a very sociable and pleasant circle. The military body is much neglected, and must feel a reciprocal contempt for those who account themselves so much their superiors. The Settlement is not much famed for hospitality to strangers, and is particularly marked, as many other places are, for inattention to young Officers. I met, however, with much civility from several gentlemen to whom I had no foreign recommendations,

and those to whom I brought letters of introduction treated me with every possible attention.

The "pagoda tree" then flourished in the land, so that "all classes of Europeans here live sumptuously, and many individuals expend from 2 to 10,000 pounds each annually in maintaining their households." It is difficult in these days of the depreciated rupee to believe that, once upon a time, there were many people in Madras who were in a position to live at the rate of £10,000 a year.

Cordiner remained only ten months at the Male Orphan Asylum. He then went to Ceylon, as a Chaplain in His Majesty's service. The Honourable Frederick North (afterwards Earl of Guilford) was the Governor, and he was very kind to the young Chaplain. He was a fine classical scholar, very amiable, and an excellent linguist. "French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Persian, Latin, ancient and modern Greek he speaks with the same fluency as his native tongue." He was "a signal blessing to Ceylon, and were he to rule for ever, the inhabitants would have great cause to rejoice." Cordiner remained five years in Ceylon, and then resigned his chaplaincy, as it gave him "no more than a bare subsistence." The new Governor, Sir C. E. Carrington, Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, and others presented him with a farewell address, and an urn of the value of 200 guineas, in acknowledgment of the "zeal, attention, and humanity with which he performed the duties of his holy profession." He embarked on the *Glory*, East Indiaman, bound for Madras, with a cargo of cinnamon that was to be landed at Fort St. George, and distributed among other vessels, preparatory to the *Glory* being laden afresh for England. She sailed from Colombo on May 2, and anchored in Madras roads on the evening of the 13th. Cordiner landed the following morning, and called on his Bombay acquaintance, General James Stuart, now Commander-in-Chief of Madras, at the latter's house in the Fort. Afterwards he looked into a room where a court-martial was sitting, and there met "another Ceylon friend, Mr. George Arbuthnot, now a merchant at Madras, who very kindly invited me to take up my quarters in his

villa while I remained at this Settlement, and I became his guest for the long period of three months, during which the *Glory* was detained, waiting for a cargo." He paid his respects to the Governor, Lord William Bentinck, "a man of a most amiable character, and one of the most gentlemanlike men" he had ever seen.

Mr. Arbuthnot introduced Cordiner into the "best circles" of Madras society, and he consequently "seldom dined two days running in the same house." He visited more than once, not only the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, but also Sir Thomas Strange, Sir Benjamin Sullivan, Admiral Rainier, Dr. Anderson, Archdeacon Leslie, Messrs. John Chinnery, Keble, Sutherland, Roebuck, Hoseason, Fraser, Harrington, Anstruther, Yeldham, Dalrymple, Yates, Cockburn, Petrie, Hon. B. Cochrane, Geslin, Parry, De Montè, Brodie, Binny, Dennison, Buchan, Chase, Abernethie, Grant, Halliburton, Orme, Gordon and Tottin; Colonels Orr, Fancourt, Torrens and Fergusson; Majors Crewe, Phillips, and Floyer; Captains Cotgrave and Winchlow; and Lieutenants Stock, De Lisle, and Ramon. At last, on August 15, he took leave of "all those to whose kindness" he was indebted for the agreeable three months that he had spent on this occasion in Madras, and embarked once again in the *Glory*. There were several other passengers, including "a friend of the late Captain T. R. Taylor, of the *Glory*, who was killed in a duel by one of his passengers immediately on their arrival at Madras from England." Captain Taylor was succeeded in the command of the vessel by Captain John Perry, who died of dropsy, off St. Helena, on the homeward voyage. "Living," Cordiner remarked, "three months on shore in the sultry climate of Madras, without having any kind of employment, laid the foundation of his disorder." Dover was not reached until February 8, 1805—or in 176 days from Madras. But Cordiner forgot the tediousness of the voyage when he beheld the white cliffs of Old England:—

That sight alone amply repaid all the inconveniences of our protracted voyage. I thought those cliffs, the green pasture ground, and the enchanting English houses, the most beautiful prospect I had

beheld in the whole course of my travels ; and they filled me with those indescribable emotions of delight and gratitude which they only can feel who have been awhile absent from home, and from the happiest country which exists on the face of the terraqueous globe.

He had been entrusted by the Ceylon Government with two large boxes of despatches, for the Colonial Office; and this enabled him to charter a chaise-and-four, at the expense of the State, and to drive in comfort from Dover to London. He subsequently found employment in Scotland, for in 1807 he was appointed one of the two ministers of St. Paul's Chapel, Aberdeen, on a salary that commenced at only £70 a year. He retained that position twenty-four years, and then resigning, in consequence of ill-health, he was granted a subsistence allowance of £100 a year, with the free use of the Chapel-house. There he died of consumption, in January, 1836, in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. The congregation subsequently gave his widow a small annuity from the Chapel funds.

CHAPTER XI

A COURT-MARTIAL

During the war of 1767 with Hyder Ali, Colonel John Wood saw much active service. He was present at the battle of Trenomallee, where he was in command of the first line; and he won the encomium of General Smith for his behaviour in the field. Shortly afterwards General Smith was summoned, much against his will, to Fort St. George to consult with the Government; and the command at Trenomallee thereupon devolved upon Colonel Wood, who was instructed by General Smith to attempt the reduction of Ahtur, and other of Hyder's forts. On February 12, 1768, Colonel Wood succeeded in effecting the capture of Tingrecottah; and, six days later, he carried Daramporay by storm. But hardly had he done so than the news reached him that Captain Marcell, when marching to join him, hampered by cannon and stores under his convoy, was being attacked by a large body of Hyder's troops. Colonel Wood at once made a forced march, effected a timely junction with Captain Marcell, defeated the enemy, and saved the convoy. On March 20 he succeeded in capturing the important town and fortress of Salem. Having given his troops a fortnight's rest, he laid siege to Ahtur, which soon surrendered to him at discretion. But advantage was taken of his departure from Salem, as 10,000 of Hyder's troops in the neighbourhood bore down upon it. Colonel Wood, however, rapidly retraced his steps from Ahtur, and the enemy retired without coming to blows. On the 20th he invested the fort of Shandemungulum, and the garrison speedily surrendered.

On May 10 an escort from Trichinopoly was surrounded by the enemy's Cavalry at Mootanchetty, and Colonel Wood marched to the spot from Salem, with all the troops he could

spare. On his appearance the enemy withdrew, and the escort was saved. Five days later he took the fort of Namcull by storm. The same success rewarded him at Erode, where he was attacked by Hyder's Light Cavalry. In the following week he besieged Sathamungalum, routed a large body of the enemy, captured their baggage and stores, and pursued them for ten miles. Yet four more days, and he captured the town and fort of Danianaickcottah, and acted so vigorously that the authorities at Fort St. George communicated to him their appreciation of his conduct. Another week passed, and he seized the important fort of Coimbatore. He then gave his troops three weeks' rest; after which he again took the field, and, on July 19, attacked and captured the fort of Sunkeryporam. Thence, after a short halt, he marched south; and, on August 3, took the pettah of Dindigul by escalade, and compelled the surrender of the fort at discretion.

But Colonel Wood's health now began to suffer from his constant exposure to the high temperature during the hot season, and the wear and tear of an exceedingly active and anxious campaign; so he reported to the authorities at Fort St. George that he feared he would have to request them to relieve him temporarily of his command. They replied on August 20:—

> It is with much concern we observe that you are apprehensive your ill state of health will prevent your proceeding with the detachment, as from the success that has already attended your spirited operations, we had entertained great hopes of reaping yet further advantage from your service in the field, particularly at a time when the enemy seems to have brought the war to a crisis, and when Officers of activity and resolution will be essentially required.

The Military Committee in Madras, formed of General Smith, Colonel Call, and Mr. Mackay, wrote at the same time to Colonel Wood to express their surprise and concern at the intention of which he had apprised the General to ask for sick leave, "because we had laid it down for certain, in all our plans, that we should have your assistance in completing the overthrow of Hyder":—

This was certainly entertaining an high opinion of your abilities; and we were particularly uneasy to find your state of health was like to be such as would oblige you to quit the field at a time when we regarded your services as most critically necessary. We well knew the great fatigue you have hitherto undergone; we knew also the great expense the Company had been at; we foresaw the evil consequences that must arise in case we do not finish our contest with Hyder before the end of the year; and we were convinced that, what had hitherto been done by your part, or by this part of the Army, would be of little use unless we could strike an important stroke at the Capital, and Hyder's Army now assembled there. For this purpose we were taking our measures beforehand, and endeavouring to collect the assistance of every able Officer, and to unite our efforts in such a manner as should insure success. *We had our eyes on you as a principal actor on this occasion.* What then must be our surprise, while entertaining such sentiments of your conduct, to see ourselves, without previous notice, on the point of being deprived of that help which had hitherto been successfully exerted, and which we concluded would continue to be so? We could not but impute your application to some other cause than sickness; but we still flatter ourselves we shall have no occasion to change the favourable opinion we had entertained; and that neither the increase of your indisposition, nor any other motive will induce you to quit the Army till we have been successful enough to defeat Hyder, or take Bangalore. We are sensible you have long laboured under an acute disorder, and we need not testimony of Surgeons to vouch it. We rely more on your own perseverance, and sense of duty to struggle with difficulties in behalf of the public weal at this critical juncture than any arguments or testimony."

Being entreated, in so flattering a manner, by the Government and the Military Committee, Colonel Wood resolved to remain at his post. Thus it was that he was still in command of the force when, on October 4, it was attacked by the whole of Hyder's army at Mulwagli. The battle commenced at 11 a.m. and was fought obstinately until sunset, when the enemy retired. The enemy fought very bravely, and were "in some instances desperately enterprising; and nothing but the most steady and determined behaviour in our troops could have resisted such a numerous and powerful army, attacked upon ground that would not admit of their forming, but deprived them of the benefit of discipline." The enemy's artillery, which was excellently served, was superior to that possessed by Colonel Wood, who nearly expended all his own ammunition. Yet, in the end he remained master

of the field. So the Madras Government wrote to thank him, and to say that "we cannot sufficiently admire the bravery and resolution of our troops under the disadvantages which they laboured under, and pressed at the same time by Hyder's whole force."

Yet, a little later, the Government "deemed the accounts received from Colonel Wood very imperfect." This they were prompted to do by the communication to them, by General Smith, of a letter which he had received from Major Thomas Fitzgerald, in camp, six miles from Colar, who had been in co-operation with Colonel Wood in the field, and had been led to form unfavourable opinions of the integrity and military qualifications of that Officer. The Major considered it might "be of the worst consequences" if the Government were kept in ingorance of the fact that their native troops had been "disheartened" by fatigues and inconsiderate treatment. He accused the Colonel of being slow to advance on one occasion against the enemy when a favourable opportunity offered; of his wasting his ammunition; and of his declining to follow the advice that he, Major Fitzgerald, had offered. In conclusion the Major remarked:—"For God's sake, Sir, consider what we have to expect? In my opinion, nothing but the entire ruin of the Company. And let me intreat you to concert the proper means for the recovery (I must say) of our lost honour, and the interest of those we serve, for certainly no time is to be lost in the present exigency."

So it was that, on November 29, Colonel Wood was ordered to return to the Presidency without delay, in order to give the Government such information respecting the late operations against Hyder Ali as "might enable them to regulate their future measures." General Smith seems at first to have concurred to some extent in Major Fitzgerald's opinion that Colonel Wood had not altogether answered the sanguine expectations formed of him by the Government. But he had fault to find with the Government, which he expressed in a letter to them, regarding their summoning of himself to Madras when the enemy was very active and in great force. "I must own, Gentlemen, that the

Minutes of Consultation are expressed in as genteel language as the censure they imply will admit of; however, after having undergone such a series of hard service, having been in the field ever since my arrival in India, engaged against the most formidable enemy the Company ever had, who never gained an advantage over me, but over whom I have gained many, and defeated them in several general actions; I can't help feeling severely the treatment I have received, in being called down from the Army, my conduct discussed before you, and, if possible, made answerable for the failure of plans I foresaw could not answer." And more to the same effect, the immediate result of which was that the Governor and Council assured the offended General, that "they cannot believe it to be a work of his own; that they find in it no traces of his genuine character, which they think superior to the object and matter; but, as it bears the sanction of his name, it became necessary to proceed to an *éclaircissement* of the subject." As to Colonel Wood, they were resolved to subject his actions to investigation. Being the third Officer in rank in the Presidency, he was "consequently near the supreme command"; and they were, therefore, of opinion that his "military conduct should undergo a strict enquiry; that if it be found such as became the character he was invested with, he may receive that honour, and be further entrusted with the command to which his rank entitles him; if otherwise, that the safety of the public may not be exposed to the dangers consequent on such capacity."

This was the prelude to nine charges being formulated against Colonel Wood, and to a Court-Martial being appointed to try the same. These charges alleged misappropriation of public stores and provisions; misappropriation of public monies; wilful neglect of duty in not laying up, or causing to be laid up, stores of grain and provisions in forts captured from the enemy; "being interested in the grain and necessaries of life brought to the bazaar"; "doing, causing, or permitting violence to persons who brought provisions to the camp"; "permitting or licensing pernicious spirits, called Parriar Arrack, to be publicly distilled and sold in the camp, and

receiving a large consideration for such permission, thereby encouraging, or conniving at drunkenness, contrary to good order and military discipline"; neglecting "to act in conformity to the advice and opinion of his Commanding Officer signified to him by repeated messages on a day named, thereby exposing his detachment, contrary to good order and military discipline, by which neglect the rear of the division sustained a considerable loss"; for "unadvisedly, indiscreetly, and contrary to the custom of war, exposing the detachment, or part of the detachment under his command, to be overpowered by the enemy," on another occasion; and, lastly, for "having in many instances, and at sundry times, whilst he had the charge and command of the Army, from the 4th November to the 5th December, 1768, by his measures and conduct, unadvisedly, indiscreetly, unlike an Officer, against the maxims of war in India, and contrary to good order and military discipline, suffered the enemy to gain many and signal advantages, and neglecting himself to take those advantages of the enemy which the nature and circumstances of the two Armies enabled him to have done." The Court-Martial commenced their labours in April, 1769, five months after Colonel Wood had been recalled from the field to Madras, and did not pronounce sentence until eight more months had passed.

The first charge in the indictment called for the examination of none but native witnesses, chiefly bullock-men and *conicopolies*; while the second rendered the examination of three European Officers, a Jemadar, a Sepoy and some other natives necessary. The witnesses who were examined in reference to the succeeding charges included Mr. Charles Bourchier, the Governor of Fort St. George; Mr. Josias Du Pré, his immediate successor; Mr. James Bourchier; Messrs. H. Brooke; J. Call; A Mackay; T. Parkinson; A. Sinclair; R. Pringle; T. Petrie; and the following Military Officers:—General Smith; Colonels Frischman, Lang and Campbell; Lieutenant-Colonel Hart; Majors Bonjour and Fitzgerald; Captains Cook, Marcell, Farran, Hopkins, Stout, Kerker, Nelson, Murphy, Johnson, Calvert, Harper, Matthews, Orton, and Baillie; Captain-Lieutenant Mackay; and Lieutenants

Rowse, Hughes, Chatress and Clark. General Smith gave his evidence with some reluctance. "As Commanding Officer of the Army," he represented, "it becomes necessary for me to obviate an appearance that must strike the whole Court. There is an impropriety in my now appearing as an evidence against Colonel Wood, when I could have brought him to an account myself if he had been guilty of disobedience while under my command":—

The great merit and success Colonel Wood has obtained in his southern expedition, entitled him to be treated with much deference, for which reason the messages I had occasion to send to him were not in so peremptory a manner as orders are usually conveyed, but rather given as my advice. And, as I was convinced that Colonel Wood's zeal and ardour for the Service were the only motives that hurried him on, I did not think proper to call him to account, as I might probably have done, had his conduct been actuated by any other motives than those which so evidently appeared, I mean his ardour and zeal for the service he was then employed upon.

The prisoner asked General Smith:—"Have you ever known me want spirit or resolution, or neglect doing my duty, in any respect or on any occasion?" To which the witness replied:—"Not at any time while under my command." Thereupon the Judge Advocate rose, and informed the Court that it was not intended by the charge to accuse the prisoner of want of courage or resolution; indeed, for his own part he believed that the prisoner never was suspected of a want of either.

Major Fitzgerald, who had originated the imputations upon the character of Colonel Wood as an Officer and a man of honour, adhered, in his evidence before the Court, to his statement, that when he joined Colonel Wood the troops were dispirited; yet he subsequently qualified his original allegations by admitting, that their appearance of being dispirited was probably attributable to the "fatigues and sufferings which they had undergone." He also said that he did not imagine it proceeded from fear. Captain Cook followed Major Fitzgerald; and when he was asked whether, at the time and place mentioned by the latter officer, the troops seemed dispirited,

or "showed any signs of despondency and dismay," replied :— "I never saw troops behave better than the Guard with me during the whole night. When the troops arrived at the ground they were very much fatigued ; but I did not perceive the least despondency, or dismay among them that could be imputed to any fear of the enemy."

Then Major Davidson stated that he had never seen the prisoner neglect to avail himself of the superior alacrity, courage, spirit, and discipline of the troops he commanded ; or passively sustain a distant cannonade instead of advancing upon, and engaging the enemy in close action, or show any signs of fear, or want of courage at any time. Captain Nelson, Captain Mackay, Captain Murphy, Captain Matthews and Mr. Sinclair severally bore witness that they had not seen the Army show any symptoms of being afraid of the enemy, or any actions of theirs that indicated they were flying before a victorious Army. Captain Matthews enforced his opinion by submitting that, "Fear and fatigue act very differently on the inclinations of mankind, the former rendering them unable to act by affecting their minds, which might appear to the Court the consequence of the cannonade, or night's march, while the latter can only affect their bodies which rest will cure. I can say that, to have engaged the enemy in close action, the men would have marched a dozen miles, and behaved as good soldiers."

The members of the Court having "maturely weighed and considered the several evidences for and against the several articles of the charge exhibited against Colonel Wood," proceeded to give judgment thereon, on December 8. They failed to find corroboration of the first article of the charge, namely, as to the sale, or disposal of stores by Colonel Wood, or by any one by his orders, for his advantage. They held that the second article had not been proved, so they acquitted him thereof. With respect to the third article, it did not appear to them that he could have acted otherwise than he did, so they acquitted him of it. Similarly with respect to the fourth article, since "he had only followed the constant practice with other Commanding Officers in the Service," and

the "Service does not appear to have suffered" from the way in which he did act. Nor could the Court admit that he had, as was alleged in the fifth article, "caused or permitted violence to be done to persons bringing provisions or necessaries." As to the permission that he gave to the selling of "*parriar* arrack in the Army," he had acted in a manner necessary for the good of the Service, and the Court could not therefore endorse the sixth article, that he had "encouraged or connived at drunkenness among the troops." Nor could the Court concur with the seventh article, as they considered that his conduct in the pursuit of the enemy on the day mentioned "did not merit the least censure." Furthermore, the Court exonerated him from the imputation in the eighth article, that he had failed in his duty at Mulwagli. As to the ninth article, in which he was held responsible for the loss of guns and baggage at Bangalore, the Court entirely acquitted him. In conclusion, the Court said that, having given their opinion on the several charges, and having thought that his conduct in not "attempting to bring the enemy to close action on the 22nd November was improper," yet, bearing in mind his "long and faithful service, and the zeal he has constantly shown, the Court do acquit him." This judgment was signed by Colonel Donald Campbell, as President, and countersigned by Colonel Stone, as Judge Advocate.

The Madras Government refused to accept this finding of the Court, and sent it back for reconsideration. But the Court declined to reconsider it. Thereupon the Government declared that "the whole Corps of Officers seemed to have felt that the emoluments, advantages, and honours of them all had been attacked in the person of Colonel Wood." They considered that his defence "did not deserve a single remark," as he had made it when possessed of the privilege of "saying anything right or wrong that he thought could avail his cause." In their opinion, his conduct had been such as to render him unworthy of being allowed to remain in the Service; and "although the consideration of his long service might, under different circumstances, have induced them only to suspend him, and to have represented the case to their honourable

masters," they "were unanimously of opinion that the extreme levity of the Court-Martial, to say no more of it, rendered it necessary for the support of good order, that they should convince the Company's servants in general of their resolution to exert the authority vested in them for that purpose." Accordingly, the Government resolved "that Colonel Wood be dismissed from the Honourable Company's Service"; and that "the sentence of the Court-Martial, with the Government's disapprobation thereof, should be given out in Public Orders."

The proceedings of the Government, with a copy of the voluminous evidence taken before the Court-Martial, and of the Court's finding, were forwarded to the Court of Directors; and, on March 22, 1771, the Directors wrote to the Madras Government (now presided over by Mr. Josias Du Pré), to say that they had taken them into consideration. They commenced by stating that they were of opinion that there were sufficient grounds for an inquiry into the conduct of Colonel Wood. Then, however, they proceeded to state :—

> We have attentively considered the Minutes of the Court-Martial held thereupon; and, upon a matured deliberation, we must declare it does not appear that the members of the Court-Martial have been actuated by any improper motives; or that their proceedings have been partial to Colonel Wood; or that they could have decided in his case otherwise than they did, according to the evidence before them. We, therefore, cannot but be of opinion that the Court-Martial acted right in confirming their sentence; and indeed we are not certain that they had power to reverse it, after it had been recorded by the Judge Advocate.

The Directors alluded to the refusal of Mr. Mackay, a member of the Council of Madras, to appear before the Court-Martial until constrained to do so. This had caused the Directors both "surprise and concern," especially as "we trusted that our superior servants would by their example teach and enforce obedience to legal authority; and not, by an avowed contempt thereof, excite or encourage others to disregard it also. With ill grace, therefore, could the Council complain of the want of proper subordination in our Military servants, and suffer, uncensured, one of their own Board to trifle with a

Court established by Law, and assembled in His Majesty's name, to find an issue, where the life and honour of a subject were evidently interested."

The Directors censured the Government for the attitude they had adopted towards General Smith, in command of the forces, in not admitting him to their consultation when they were passing sentence on Colonel Wood. The insinuation of the Government that General Smith could not be trusted ran counter to their own confidence in that Officer's "inflexible integrity," and "we reflect with the greatest satisfaction that his actions have entitled him to the confidence we repose in the fidelity of that gallant Officer and valuable Servant." The Directors felt it necessary to add, that "the supposition of an act of oppression" being done by the Government, "could not be deemed a sufficient plea for individuals to arraign the conduct of the Government, and reflect on their characters and administration"; so they called upon Colonel Wood to "make a proper acknowledgment to our President and Council for having offended in this respect." They then declared that, so soon as he had satisfied certain claims that might be decreed against him by the Mayor's Court in Madras, and made the required "concessions to our President and Council as before required, he be forthwith restored to our Service, without prejudice to his rank":—

> However unwilling we are to return to the subject which has occasioned such altercation amongst our Servants, we cannot avoid taking notice of the plea of our Governor and Council that the contest relative to Colonel Wood was virtually between the Civil and Military power; and we must observe that there appears no proof of such an assertion, nor are we referred to one fact in support thereof. We do not even find a suggestion of this kind, until the Consultation by which Colonel Wood was dismissed our Service. Had there been only positive assertions on one hand, and denials on the other, and both unsupported by proper evidence, we should have remained in uncertainty; but when proof of facts upon oath is considered as "*not meriting a single remark*" we cannot concur with the opinion of our late Governor and Council, or deem the denial of such facts as a full refutation of them.

In conclusion, the Directors said that they "expected and required" all classes of their servants, civil and military, to

cultivate harmony. "We hope the only contest in future will be, who shall by judicious conduct contribute most to make us forget the evils of the late war, so rashly undertaken, and terminated by you with so much dishonour."

In compliance with the Directors' orders, Colonel Wood offered an apology to the Governor and Council, but they refused to receive it. Moreover, they did not act upon the Directors' instructions, but wrote home to say that they still deemed Colonel Wood "most unfit" to be retained in the service of the Company. The Directors, however, replied on April 7, 1773, that as that Officer had made the acknowledgment to the Board which they had required of him as a condition to his restoration to the Company's service, "it is our positive order that you do reinstate him in his rank and station, and pay him the arrears of his salary and allowances as ordered in our letter of 25th April, 1771." This command reached Madras shortly after Mr. Alexander Wynch had succeeded Mr. Du Pré as Governor, and it was then acted upon without further hesitation.

CHAPTER XII

TWO ADVENTUROUS CAPTAINS

THE *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1732 recorded that Captain Alexander Hamilton died on October 7 of that first year of the *Magazine's* existence. Nothing is known of his family or birthplace; but he regarded himself as a Hamilton of "that ilk." It was probably for this reason that, in 1727, he dedicated to the fifth Duke of Hamilton, then living, the "Account" which he published in that year, of his travels in the East Indies. He was a sailor as to the manner born, and he did not set out for the far East until he had visited "most of the maritime kingdoms of Europe," and made a voyage to Jamaica. After that he appears to have passed thirty-five years in cruising about the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the China Sea, sometimes in the capacity of supercargo, but more often in that of commander of his vessel. He engaged most of the time in trade; and the wonder is that he did not realize enough to enable him to return home rather early in life, and settle down comfortably for the remainder of his days. But Fortune was slow to smile upon him. This is how he explains the matter:—"Now, one would think that in so long a time in India, I might have made a great deal of money, but Fortunatus will not lodge in every house with honest and industrious men there, more than in Europe; yet after many strugglings with adverse failure, and heavy oppressions, I have brought back a charm that can keep out the meagre devil (poverty) from entering into my house, and so I have got holy Agur's wish in Prov. xxx. 8,[1]

[1] Prov. xxx. 8:—"Remove far from me vanity and lies: give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me."

and I have learned a pretty good lesson from St. Paul in his epistle to the Philippians chap. iv. verse 11,[1] which I am resolved to follow as long as I live."

Thus it was that he continued to roam in foreign parts, and to study, in an unscientific fashion, the manners and customs of Eastern peoples. He took no notes, since it never occurred to him while he was still active, to publish a narrative of his experiences. But at last, when age compelled him to cast anchor in his native land, and to live rather in retrospect than in anticipation, something induced him to indent on his memory for particulars as to what he had seen and heard in his best days. He was too honest to pretend that in making the demand he did, at an advanced time of life, upon that memory, he could rely upon not making mistakes; but, while conscious of his limitations, he did what he could to admit the reading world to his confidence. The result was the production of two bulky volumes, containing, as he said in his dedication to the Duke, his "cursory observations." If the Duke would accept them "I shall not much mind," he said, "the censure of criticks or satyrists." He regretted that his work did not better deserve the honour of his Grace's patronage. "If I had thought, while I was in India, of making my observations or remarks public, and to have had the honour of presenting them to so noble a patron, I had certainly been more careful and curious in my collections, and of keeping memorandums to have made this work more complete; but it must now appear to some disadvantage, for want of those ornaments, in its native simple dress, as it came posting through a weak and treacherous memory with little elegancy."

In a long preface which followed his concise and not too obsequious dedication, he alluded somewhat sarcastically to his having known in 1690 a "reverend gentleman, who came to Bombay as chaplain of the ship *Benjamin*"; and who, after having been engaged a while on ministerial duties in Bombay and Surat, returned home, and published a book of travels,

[1] Philipp. iv. 11:—"Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content."

which won for him a "great deal of applause, and many encomiums from some of his reverend brethren." For all that, Hamilton proceeded to state, "the Chaplain's greatest travels were in maps, and the observations and remarks which he gave in his book were not original, but were obtained second hand, or by hearsay." Yet "the taste of those times relished all he presented with a very good gusto, and the reverend traveller received almost as ample rewards and praises for his personal travels to Surat by sea, and over the rest of India by maps, as Sir Francis Drake had for his tour round the world." For his own part Hamilton claimed to have actually visited the places that he attempted to describe; and knowing, as he observed, that "the proof of the pudding is in eating of it," he left the readers of his lucubrations, which had given him employment during the "nights of two long winters," to "condemn or commend" them "according to their taste or appetite."

It was in the year 1702 that Hamilton arrived off Madras in the ship *Albemarle*, which he had chartered for a cruise round the coast from Malabar to Ceylon, Coromandel and Bengal. Leaving Ceylon he reached Negapatam, then a Dutch Colony, with a fort which was built by the Portuguese. Thence "I must visit," he said, "the Maldive islands, which lie off this coast, about 60 miles distant from the nearest part of them." I need not follow him there, except to note that he was struck by the use that the islanders made—and still make—of the cocoanut tree. "Of that tree," he mentioned, "they build vessels of twenty or thirty tons. Their hulls, masts, sails, rigging, anchors, cables, provisions, and firing are all from this useful tree. It also affords them oil for their kitchen and lamps, sugar and candied sweetmeats, and pretty strong cloth." This reminds me of the old couplet, the authorship of which I do not know, which states that the *cocos nucifera* yields :—

"Clothing, meat, trencher, drink, can,
Boat, sail, oar, mast, needle—all in one."

Having jotted down his observations about the Maldives, Hamilton returned in his narrative to Negapatam, "from

whence I took my departure, and stretch along the coast of Coromandel." He touched at Trincumbar—now Tranquebar—then a fortified colony of the Danes, where he found "a set of clergy lately come as missioners from Denmark." Fort St. David was now reached. This was "a colony and fortress belonging to the English," which was acquired in 1686 by Mr. Elihu Yale (the American gentleman who was then Governor of Madras) for 90,000 pagodas, from a "Moratta"—or, as we would now say, a Mahratta—prince. Mr. Yale was more 'cute than scrupulous, for it was stipulated by the sale contract that the land all round the fort, as far as any gun on the walls could "fling a shot," should pass into the possession of the English. "But," Hamilton says, "whether the buyer or gunners were conjurors or not, I cannot tell, but I am sure the English bounds reach above eight miles along the sea-shore, and four miles within land." The country seemed to him to be pleasant, healthy, fruitful, and well watered. There was a Governor, subordinate to the Governor of Fort St. George; and the Colony produced woven cloths, in large quantities, "either brown, white, or blue dyed, also Sallampores, Morees, Ginghamas, and Succatoons." "Cuddelore" was about a mile to the south; and Punticherry (Pondicherry) some five leagues to the north of St. David. Then, as now, the fortifications were "fine, regular, and strong"; but the trade was small. Proceeding yet northwards, Hamilton passed Connymere, near the Seven Pagodas; Saderass or Saderass Patam (Sadras), and arrived at St. Thomas (St. Thomé), a town, he said, about three miles south of Fort St. George, that was built by the Portuguese, who "made the Apostle St. Thomas its godfather, but before that it was called Mallapore." He visited St. Thomas's Mount, and saw its church and relics. "At the foot of the great Mount the Company has a garden, and so have the gentlemen of figure at Fort St. George, with some summer houses, where ladies and gentlemen retire to in the summer to recreate themselves, when the business of the town is over, and to be out of the noise of spungers and impertinent visitors which this city is often molested with."

It struck Hamilton immediately he arrived at Fort St. George that it was "situated in one of the most incommodious places" he had ever seen, and he could not imagine how the site was chosen for the purpose. He was inclined to give credence to the story that Sir William Langhorne,[1] the Governor, "had a mistress at St. Thomas he was so enamoured of that made him build there, that their interviews might be more frequent and uninterrupted, but whatever his reasons were it is very ill situated." For "the Fort fronts the sea, which continually rolls impetuously on its shore, more here than in any other place on the coast of Choromondel." Its foundation was sand; there was no drinkable water within a mile of it; the sun from April to September was "scorching hot; and, if the sea breezes did not moisten and cool the air when they blow, the place could not possibly be inhabited." Then the "soil about the city is so dry and sandy that it bears no corn; and what fruits, roots, and herbage they have are brought to maturity by great pains and much trouble." Hamilton marvelled, therefore, why Cabelon, or, better still, Pulicat was not chosen for the settlement, instead of "Maderass, or as the natives call it, China Patam." But he had to accept the accomplished fact, and to see what "Maderass" was like.

He found that it was much resorted to by "peaceable Indian merchants because it lay far from encumberers of trade, and near the diamond mines of Golcondah, where there are, many times, good bargains to be made, and money got by our governors." Thus the town was made populous and rich. The Europeans dwelt in White Town, where there were two

[1] Sir William Langhorne, son of a London merchant trading with India, was born in London in 1692, called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, but did not practise, became a wealthy merchant, was created a Baronet by King Charles II in 1668, appointed Governor of Fort St. George in 1670, resigned in 1677, married in 1700 a daughter of the Earl of Rutland, died in 1715, aged 86, and was buried in the church at Charlton, Kent, near the estate which he acquired, and where he long resided. Sir John Fryer, F.R.S., who visited Fort St. George while Langhorne was Governor, stated that he was "a Gentleman of Indefatigable Industry and Worth."

churches, one for the Protestant, the other for the Roman Catholic service, and both under the superintendence of the Governor, who, in filling up vacancies in the latter, was "the Pope's legate *a latere* in spiritualities." The Protestant church was well endowed, and maintained "poor gentlewomen in good housewifery, good clothes, and palankines." There was a good hospital; there were "neat horse-stables"; but the Old College "where a great many gentlemen factors are obliged to lodge, is ill kept in repair." Then there was a mint, in which the Company coined, with bullion imported from Europe, silver rupees stamped with Persian characters, and bearing the name and superscription of the Great Mogul, and also gold pagodas of several denominations and values. There were schools, where English, Portuguese, Mahomedan, Gentoo and Armenian children were taught Latin as well as their mother tongue. There was a Town Hall, with cells beneath it for debtors:—

> They are, or were a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Alderman to be chosen by the free burghers of the town; but that scurvy way is grown obsolete, and the Governor and his Council, or party, fix the choice. The city had laws and ordinances for its own preservation, and a Court kept in form, the Mayor and Alderman in their gowns, with maces on the table, a clerk to keep a register of transactions and cases, attornies and solicitors to plead in form, before the Mayor and Aldermen. But, after all, it is but a farce, for by experience I found that a few pagodas rightly placed, could turn the scales of justice to which side the Governor pleased, without respect to equity or reputation. In smaller matters, where the case on both sides is but weakly supported by money, then the Court acts judiciously, according to consciences and knowledge, but often against law and reason, for the Court is but a Court of conscience, and its decisions are very irregular, and the Governor's dispensing power of nulling all that the Court transacts puzzles the most celebrated lawyers there to find rules in the statute laws.

Hamilton may have been influenced in forming this poor opinion of what did duty for law and justice in Madras two centuries ago by an unpleasant personal experience. Capital punishment could only be awarded then in cases of piracy, and "the power of executing pirates is so strangely stretched that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a Governor,

and can find no redress, if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *Lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate." Hamilton chanced to have some dealings with a rogue named Powney, who, little as he suspected it, was the agent of a person named Collet, a person of some authority; and when he wrote to Collet, complaining of Powney's rascality, and hinted that he would have the law of the man, Collet was so "vexed that he formally went to the Town Hall, and declared me a rank pirate, though I and my friends came off with above £3,000 loss." Several years afterwards Hamilton saw some papers in London, in which the "piety, charity, and justice" of Mr. Collet were extolled. This "must have been done by some mercenary scribbler that did not know him, but now he is dead, I will say no more of him." It must have been some comfort to Hamilton to find a contrast to Mr. Collet in a good-hearted gentleman, Captain Hart, "a very merry man." The trade of Madras was, Hamilton found, not satisfactory, since the place produced very little of its own growth or manufacture. Rice was imported from Ganjam and Orissa; wheat from Surat and Bengal; and firewood from the islands of Diu, near Masulipatam, "so that any enemy that is superior to them in sea forces may easily distress them." The Madras trader consequently often met with "disappointments and sometimes oppression." "I have seen," he observed, "when the Governor's servants have bid for goods at a public sale, some who had a mind to bid more, durst not; others who had more courage and durst bid, were browbeaten and threatened." The place was only an "emporium," and struck Hamilton as being "an emblem of Holland in supplying foreign markets with foreign goods" rather than with commodities of its own production.

Captain Donald Campbell

Once upon a time the figure of Captain Donald Campbell, of Barbreck, Commandant of a Regiment of Cavalry in the service of His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, was familiar to the residents of Fort St. George, the occupants of Government House, and the good people of Black Town. He came

of a branch of the clan that recognises the Duke of Argyll as its chief; and he was not only well educated, but he acquired the art of recording his experiences in an attractive manner. He was also, as became a Caledonian, possessed of a taste for adventure, allied with an ambition to improve his fortune in foreign parts. But it was chiefly owing to what he characterised as a "variety of unpropitious circumstances" and "domestic calamity" that, while as yet he was a young married man of thirty years of age, he bent his steps a second time to the East Indies.

In May, 1781, Campbell commenced his journey "with a heart overwhelmed with woe, and too surely predictive of misfortunes." But, despite his depression, he had the spirit to resolve to find his way to India overland, by a route part of which had never before been attempted by a European. It may savour, at first glance, rather of the ridiculous than the sublime, that he decided to go out, not *viâ* Southampton, nor yet *viâ* Marseilles, nor yet *viâ* Brindisi, as crowds of his compatriots have done since his day, but—*viâ* Margate! In his day Margate was little more than a fishing village, where toothsome shrimps were to be had almost for the asking, and where gleeful Harries and tuneful Harriets from happy Hampstead were as yet unknown. An indentation of its fore shore gave it a harbour that was used as an anchorage during spring, summer, and autumn by vessels of light burden; and when Campbell arrived he found, as he had been led to expect, that the "Packet" bound for Ostend was about to set sail. In her he embarked; and he might have felt disconsolate, if not also a trifle seasick; but, as "at the moment when man thinks himself most miserable a benignant Providence is preparing relief, in some form or other, for him, so it"—as he wrote to his son [1]—"happened with me, for I was fortunate

[1] *A Journey Overland to India*, partly by a route never gone before by any European, by Donald Campbell, of Barbreck, Esq.—in a Series of Letters to his Son—comprehending his shipwreck and imprisonment with Hyder Ali, and his subsequent negotiations and transactions in the East. London: Printed for Cullen and Company, 54, Pall Mall, 1795.

enough to find in the Packet a fellow-passenger, whose valuable conversation and agreeable manners beguiled me insensibly of the gloomy contemplations in which I was absorbed, and afforded my tortured mind a temporary suspension of pain." Judging from that gentleman's name he too must have hailed from north of the Tweed, for he was General Lockhart, who was bound for Brussels, "to pay his court to the Emperor Joseph II." The General was both "pleasing in his manners, and respectable in his character," and he readily agreed to Campbell accompanying him as far as that city.

The two travellers went by easy stages from Ostend to Bruges, and Ghent to Brussels, then the capital of what was called Austrian Flanders. The country had long been regarded as the Cockpit Royal of Europe; and it was destined to be the scene, twenty-seven years after Campbell's visit, of one of the most decisive battles in history. Having seen much of Brussels, and received favourable accounts of the demeanour and policy of the young Emperor, Campbell, with much regret, took leave of General Lockhart, and experienced some return of the "bitter sensations" with which he had left London. Alone he travelled to Liège, and thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, being cheered by the fine weather, and the beautiful scenery of the country through which he passed. He pushed on to Juliers, through a Duchy teeming with corn, wood, pasture, woad, coal, cattle and horses; and at length reached Cologne. He went the round of the sights of that "fine city." Then he proceeded to Bonn, where Julius Cæsar threw a bridge across the Rhine; and from there he reached Mayence, and at last arrived at "the great, free, and Imperial city" of Frankfort-on-the-Maine. He could not fail to be pleased with that famous place where, as he was told, "the Roman Catholics possess the churches, the Lutherans the dignities, and the Calvinists the riches"; and where life seemed agreeable, partly because "the merchants are extremely convivial and sociable, and form Clubs where they meet to drink tea and coffee, and play at cards," or go to the play-house, or resort to the "excellent inns," or pay visits to "very pleasant circumjacent villages" in the "country around that is covered with woods

and vineyards." Leaving Frankfort he passed through a "number of towns" until he arrived at Augsburg, the capital of a Bishopric,—a "handsome city, the public buildings in general magnificent, and adorned with fountains, water-engines of a curious construction, and statues," and "a most agreeable place to live in." Then he travelled through Bavaria, and reached the Tyrol, entering the most delightful valley he had ever beheld, "diversified with the alternate beauties of nature and cultivation."

He passed on in due course to Innsbruck, and Bolfano, to Trent, Bassano, and so on to Venice, which delighted him, as he approached it, with "its stately steeples and noble buildings that seem as if just emerging from the sea, and floating on the surface." From Venice he proceeded by ship to Trieste, and thence to Zante, Alexandria, Cyprus, and Aleppo. He was detained some time at Aleppo, but he was the guest the while of an English resident, whose manner of asking him to his house was so "engaging, interesting and impressive," that Campbell "found it impossible to refuse him," though he had intended to reside at the British Consul's. He soon found that the beautiful appearance of Aleppo, as viewed from the sea, was belied by the narrow streets, gloomy houses, and stone walls; but the suburbs proved agreeable as compared with the "gloomy city." He was led by what he saw and heard to the conclusion that the Turkish Government were grossly misrepresented by their Western critics. He could not admit that the people were well governed in every respect, or that property was always secure; but it seemed to him that the common people were more free, and that life and property were more safe in the Turkish dominions than was the case in some European countries. At any rate, in and around Aleppo highway robbery, house-breaking, or pilfering were little known, and "at all times the roads are as secure as the houses." Mahomedans at Aleppo, as elsewhere, had their defects, but he concluded that this was not the fault of their religion, or their laws. As became a loyal Scotsman he maintained, that "our Church affairs in Scotland are arranged upon a better system than any other I know of."

Hence the Scotch clergy "are in general examples worthy of imitation for learning, piety, and moral conduct." But he had an open mind; and he did not disguise from himself that Mahomedans are not the only people in the world who, "under all the external forms of sanctity and religion," are capable of crime, and may be proof against charity.

A considerable time passed without affording Campbell the opportunity of continuing his journey, until at last, under the advice of the consul, he agreed to adopt the expedient of going on to Bagdad in the guise of a slave to a Tartar, who was engaged in carrying despatches from the Turkish Government to Viceroys and Pashas. It was agreed that Campbell should pay the Tartar £100 for the care of himself and his servant, and that on his arrival at Bagdad a douceur of £20 would be added if the Tartar behaved well. He soon realised that the Tartar was a curious compound of arrogance and obsequiousness, of ferocity and sympathy, and that he needed an unconscionable amount of humouring. The man having heard the Captain's name, supposed that it was only a slight corruption of the word camel, the Turkish word for which is "*jimmel*," so throughout the journey he called Campbell "Jimmel." When in the hearing of people of the country he treated "Jimmel" with no courtesy, and was very free in his remarks about the manners and customs of "Franks," or Europeans; and as these remarks were interpreted for Campbell's benefit by his servant, they at times caused him much annoyance. But he perceived that the Tartar swaggered in order to secure good horses and accommodation for the party; and that he bullied all who were brought into contact with them, and complained about every article of food, in view to inspiring the people with a profound sense of his being an official of great consequence with whom it might be dangerous to interfere. And the man thus got what both he and "Jimmel" required.

The route followed for the first six days after leaving Aleppo, was through a country producing grain and fruit in great variety and abundance, and rich in pastures covered with flocks and herds. Then the province of Diarbeker was entered,

and its capital of the same name was reached. It is supposed that this locality, called Padan Aram—the "fruitful Syria"—by Moses, is the site of Eden, and that it was here that Noah settled after the flood. And here, according to widespread belief, Abraham once dwelt; and here his second son, Jacob, put in his memorable fourteen years of servitude in order that he might win Rachel from the crafty Laban. Campbell found the city situated in a delightful plain, near the banks of the river Tigris. "It is one of the richest, most trading, strong, and populous cities in Asiatic Turkey, and is adorned with many piazzas and market places, and a magnificent mosque, formerly a Christian Church, for Christianity flourished over this country so late as the sixth century." It is well supplied with water, drawn by a canal from the river. As for the immediately surrounding country it is remarkable for its natural richness and beauty; indeed the whole locality would seem from Campbell's glowing description to still have some of the makings in, around, and about it of a terrestrial Paradise.

Mosul, within sight of Nineveh, was reached in safety. Distance lent enchantment to the view as it was approached, but the interior was detestable. After a short stay there to recruit, the party resumed the journey towards Bagdad, which was reached in seven days from Mosul, and eighteen days from Aleppo, during which period the party had ridden fourteen hundred miles. Campbell remained in the house of an Armenian while he was at Bagdad. He now paid the Tartar the well-earned douceur of £20, over and above the original payment of £100, for conducting him from Aleppo to Bagdad in accordance with the original compact; and the Tartar not only refrained from asking for more, but when he took leave of "Jimmel," "betrayed the strongest marks of sensibility." Campbell made a close survey of Bagdad; and having seen what there was to see he arrived at the emphatic conclusion, that it is "among the most disagreeable cities of the world, and has no one circumstance to recommend it." This was a sore disappointment to him, for his hopes had been raised by what he had read about it in the Arabian

Nights Entertainments. His host admitted that at one time Bagdad was not only a great, but also a flourishing town. Unfortunately Sultan Amurath IV, having captured it, put the leading citizens to the sword, and the place has declined ever since.

Campbell had half a mind to take two days' journey to the ruins of the city of Babylon, with the sites not only of the walls, 350 feet in height, and 87 feet in thickness, but also of that of the Tower of Babel. But, on second thoughts, he gave up the idea; gladly left Bagdad; and rode to a place on the Tigris, where he embarked in an open boat, and set out for Bussora. For nine days he was exposed to the heat by day and the cold by night, and he found little distraction in the country on each side of the river, as it was "uniformly dull and uninteresting." The boat was frequently attacked by robbers; so Campbell was glad enough to find himself a welcome guest in the house of Mr. Latouche, the Company's Resident at Bussora. Then he sailed in a date-boat from Bussora to Bushire, where he was received by Mr. Galley, the Company's Resident. He remained at Bushire a few days, after which he embarked in a Company's frigate, and proceeded in her to Bombay. He did not accord Bombay one line of description in his narrative, as he was only too glad to leave as soon as possible in a vessel bound for Goa. At Goa he "was received with great politeness, and treated with the most friendly attention, by Mr. Henshaw, the English Resident." But he was "impatient to get away from Goa," though he looked forward to his departure with secret uneasiness; made his will, which he left with that gentleman; and at last, "full of dreadful forebodings of shipwreck, went on board a Portuguese vessel bound to Madras."

This was on May 18, 1782; or about the time when it is customary for the South-West Monsoon to set in on the West Coast. The sky was overcast when he embarked, and the vessel was overladen and ill-found. The following day the Monsoon was inaugurated with sheets of rain, vivid lightning, peals of thunder, hurricanes, and the sea running moun-

tains high. The Captain and the crew lost their heads, and gave themselves up for lost when heavy seas were shipped, and the vessel seemed incapable of righting herself. Happily there was an amiable young English passenger on board, named Hall, who seconded Campbell's efforts to urge the Captain to do his duty, and to lighten the vessel by throwing the guns and much of her lading (which included Goa mangoes in baskets) overboard. But the vessel became water-logged, and in the confusion that ensued Hall had a miraculous escape. Campbell said :—

By the merest accident I grasped something that lay in my way, made a vigorous spring, and gained the lee shrouds. Mr. Hall, who followed me, in seizing the shrouds, came thump against me with such violence that I could scarcely retain my hold of the rigging. Compelled by the perilous situation in which I stood I called out to him for God's sake to keep off, for that I was rendered quite breathless and worn out ; he generously endeavoured to make way for me, and, in doing so, unfortunately lost his hold, and went down under the ship's side. Never, never, shall I forget my sensation at this melancholy incident. I would have given millions of worlds that I could have recalled the words which made him move ; my mind was wound up to the last pitch of anguish. I may truly say that this was the most bitter of all the bitter moments of my life, compared with which the other circumstances of the shipwreck seemed lessened. For I had insensibly acquired an unusual esteem and warm attachment for him, and was doubtful whether, after being even the innocent occasion of his falling, I ought to take further pains to preserve my own life. All these sensations were passing with the rapidity of lightning through my thoughts, when, as much to my astonishment as to my joy, I saw him borne by a returning wave, and thrown among the very packages from which I had but just before, with such labour and difficulty, extricated myself. In the end he proved equally fortunate, but after a much longer and harder struggle, and after sustaining much more injury.

Immediately after this thrilling experience it occurred to Campbell, who was a good swimmer, that as the vessel could not hold long together he had best try to make his way ashore. He had previously thrown off other articles of clothing, and he now tore off his shirt, waved his hand to Mr. Hall, and jumped into the sea after a log of wood that was floating near the vessel. He reached the log, but it was soon forced away from him by the sea, and then, throwing himself on his back,

he allowed the waves to wash him to the shore. At last he found his feet, made a dash up the beach beyond reach of the waves, and then fainted away from exhaustion.

When he recovered his senses he found himself surrounded by armed men, whom he perceived were soldiers of Hyder Ali, the despot of Mysore. He was in a state of nature, and a Lascar taking pity upon him took off his own waist-cloth, tore it into two pieces, and gave one piece to Campbell to gird himself withal. "Of all the acts of beneficence that I ever met with," said Campbell, "this struck me most forcibly; it had kindness, disinterestedness, and delicacy for its basis; and I have never since thought of it without wishing that I could meet the man to reward him for his beneficence with a subsistence for life." He was removed to a small hut, and a guard was set over him. The following morning, to his great astonishment, he was joined there by Hall, who reported that when the tide ebbed, the vessel had been left almost dry, but that out of eleven Europeans and fifty-six Lascars who were on board, he and Campbell and only fourteen Lascars had been saved. Hall was as unclad as was Eve-angelical before she, like Adam, took to vestments, so Campbell divided with him the half of the Lascars' cloth. Thus "a rag of linen, not worth sixpence, was a very material accommodation" to the companions in misfortune.

The weather continued so monsoonish that the captors remained some days in the place, but did little the while to ameliorate the position of the two captive Europeans, or of the fourteen Lascars who were with them. They allowed them no straw to lie upon; and they entrusted to an old woman the duty of serving them with a little rice twice a day. Then the Lascars were driven off, and Campbell and Hall saw them no more; after which they themselves were compelled to commence the journey into the interior, and to trudge through slush, while torrents of rain were falling, or at times, during a break in the weather, to march on regardless of the scorching rays of the sun. "Now blistered with the heat, now drenched with the rain, and now chilled

The death of Hall was reported to the Commandant, and Campbell begged the guards to apply for permission to have the dead body removed. But the Commandant refused to issue any orders, and for "several days and nights" Campbell remained bound to the putrefying corpse of his friend. "I never look back," he wrote afterwards, "at this crisis without confusion, horror, and even astonishment." The wonder is that he survived the horrible ordeal.

At length the Commandant allowed the removal of the body. This was when the whole of the troops in the citadel were under orders to march, and the Commandant proceeded to the prison, and directed a man to release Campbell from his irons. This was due to the approach of British troops, guided by Rogonaut Rou, a Mahratta Chief, who had entered into negotiations with the British authorities at Bombay. The British force was under the command of General Mathews, who had been despatched from Madras in order to make a diversion, and relieve the Carnatic from the danger threatened by Hyder. The Jemadar, Hyat Sahib, sent for Campbell, and, to make a long story short, he, in his own interest, eventually employed Campbell to proceed on horseback to meet General Mathews, in order to arrange for the surrender of Hydernagur. The negotiations were successful, and the fort was occupied without a blow being struck. But Campbell was disappointed of the acknowledgment that he expected both from General Mathews and Hyat Sahib. As soon as Hydernagur was taken, Hyat Singh issued orders for the surrender of the forts at Mangalore, Deokull, Anarpore, and elsewhere; but General Mathews had eventually to reduce those forts. Later on, as Campbell briefly puts it, "Tippoo retook Hydernagur, and, in direct breach of the capitulation, made the garrison prisoners, treated them with a degree of inhumanity which chills the blood even to think of; and forced General Mathews to take poison in prison."

Meanwhile, Campbell had been sent with despatches for the Governments of Bombay and Madras. He set off with a small guard, reached Cundapore, on the Malabar Coast, and

proceeded in a boat to Mangalore, where he was detained by severe illness. He then continued his journey in a small ship to Tellicherry, where he remained a few days as the guest of Mr. Freeman, the Chief of that place. Then he went on to Anjengo, and there commenced his journey of nearly eight hundred miles across country to Madras. He passed through Travancore, Tinnevelly, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore (where he witnessed a *suttee*), and so reached Negapatam, intending to make the short run up the coast to Madras by sea. But, just as the vessel approached Madras she was chased and captured by a French frigate, whose Captain ordered her to steer with the frigate northward. Night fell, and then, as Campbell says, "a fresh and favourable breeze fortunately aiding the attempt, we put about, ran for Madras, and luckily dropt anchor safely in the Roads."

Lord Macartney was at that time Governor of Fort St. George; and with his permission Campbell set sail for Bengal, as he had been charged with a mission from Hyat Sahib to the Governor-General and Supreme Council. He reached Calcutta in safety; was received as a guest by Sir John Macpherson, a member of the Council, who presented him to Warren Hastings, with whom he entered into a negotiation on behalf of Hyat Sahib, who was conspiring against Tippoo. Hastings seemed to Campbell to be "a man of sound, acute, and brilliant talents, of a vast and comprehensive mind, of manners sociable, amiable, meek, and unaffected, and of a disposition truly benevolent." Hastings accepted the overtures of Hyat Sahib in the manner desired by Campbell; and "as the season was very unfavourable for a voyage by sea," the latter resolved to return to Madras by land, partly in order to see *en route* "that curious and grotesque monument of superstitious folly called the Jagarnaut Pagoda." He remained at Vizagapatam with Mr. Russel, the Chief of that place. "His style of living was so similar to that of an elegant family residing at their country house in England," that Campbell felt himself "more happy and comfortable than I had been since my arrival in India."

From Vizagapatam he proceeded to Masulipatam, where

he learnt of the unfortunate fate of General Mathews ; he then pushed on to Madras. From Madras he marched to Palamcottah, where he fell ill, and had to keep his bed five or six weeks. Then he " crawled on " to Anjengo ; and, after remaining a while there with Mr. Hutchinson, the Resident, embarked on board a vessel that took him to Bombay, where he found Hyat Sahib. Having indulged in a run to Surat, he returned to Madras once more, and his health being impaired, he resolved to go home, but not until he had gratified his curiosity by seeing a little of China. So Lord Macartney gave him a letter of introduction to the Company's chief super-cargo at Canton, in which he described Campbell as " a gentleman who has signalised himself on many occasions, but more particularly by his ability and address in accomplishing the surrender of the Fort of Bedanore, at which place he had long been a prisoner."

At Canton, on December 29, 1784, Campbell embarked in the *Ponsborne* East Indiaman (in which he had sailed from Madras to China), and after a voyage of five months, reached Falmouth, having been four years away from England. He did not return to India. He died in 1808, at Hutton in Essex. His son, for whose benefit, in the first instance, the letters containing the narrative were written, entered the Guards, and, after Campbell's death, sold the family estate in Argyllshire, settled in Suffolk, where he became a Deputy Lieutenant, and died in 1846, aged sixty-four. The narrative passed through six editions, the last of which appeared in 1808.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME VISITORS

LORD MONSON and Mr. George Leveson Gower have edited the Memoirs[1] of Captain George Elers, which were found lately in the library at Burton Hall. Elers—to whom Lord Monson is related through his great-grandmother, *née* Anna Debonnaire, born at Madras in 1768—was of German as well as English origin. He obtained his Commission as Ensign, without purchase, in the 90th Infantry, and then, a month later, as Lieutenant by purchase in the 12th, he embarked with the latter Regiment for India. He reached the Cape, and there first met Colonel the Hon'ble Arthur Wellesley—the future Duke of Wellington—who was in command of the 33rd, also on its way to the East. The Colonel had just turned twenty-seven years of age, and was "all life and spirits," remarkably clean in his person, and in the habit of shaving sometimes twice a day. He was in height about 5 feet 7 inches, had "a pale long face, a remarkably aquiline nose, a clear blue eye, and the blackest beard I ever saw." He spoke quickly, with a slight lisp, and he had a habit of pursing up his mouth in a curious manner when he was pleased. He was so much in debt, and so embarrassed when he left England, that he had to borrow from a Dublin tradesman £400 to £500 before he embarked. He repaid the loan, and eventually exerted his influence to obtain for the tradesman's son a place of £400 per annum.

Elers spent two months very pleasantly at the Cape, and then sailed with his Regiment for Madras. The voyage took

[1] *Memoirs of George Elers, Captain in the 12th Regiment of Foot* (1777–1842). Edited from the Original MSS. by Lord Monson and George Leveson Gower. London: William Heinemann, 1903.

two months, and Madras was reached on January 9, 1797. The Regiment was landed on the following morning, and marched to the barracks in the Fort, which were being vacated by the 74th Regiment, the Officers of which Corps entertained the newcomers at a handsome dinner, featured by large quantities of madeira and claret. The Officers of the 12th soon formed an excellent Mess. They contracted with a couple of natives to find them an excellent dinner, a dessert, and a pint of madeira, including on Thursdays and Sundays, guest nights, a better dinner than usual, with Europe hams, tongues, cheese, etc., for 10 pagodas a head monthly. The Mess usually consisted of forty to fifty Officers, and on guest nights there were sometimes three times that number at table. Elers had some letters of introduction to residents in Madras, which he presented. "I got," he said, "some dinners, and that was all." Among others he called on the old Admiral, and presented a letter that he had received in England from Lady Burnaby. The Admiral said frankly:—"Young gentleman, you are in the Army, and I can be of no use to you. Had you been in the Navy, from the regard I have to Lady Burnaby, I would have taken care of your promotion."

In 1797 Elers embarked at Madras with the expedition that was being sent against Manila, and he duly reached Penang; but, owing to the hostile demonstrations of Tippoo Sultan in Mysore, the part of the force with which he was connected was ordered back to Madras. The Regiment then commenced to march towards the south; and reached in due course Conjeveram, Pondicherry, and Tanjore, where the flank Companies were encamped at Vallum—then, as now, "a wild and cheerless place," situated on a large sandy plain, with rocks infested with cobras. Here Elers witnessed the *suttee* of a very young widow by the side of her very old deceased husband. She was calm and collected, and when the flames reached her she only uttered the words "Narina! Narina!" The old Rajah was deposed while Elers was at Tanjore, and Suffrajeh, educated by Schwartz, the German Missionary, was placed on the *musnad* to reign in his stead. The revolution was effected without bloodshed or confusion. The young

Rajah, then about twenty-four years of age, entertained the Military and Civil Officers at a grand banquet, when he appeared so splendidly attired that Elers was reminded of the Sultans, Caliphs, and Princes described in the Arabian Nights Entertainments. His Highness made presents to all his guests, and Elers received a cloth of gold sufficient for a dress.

From Tanjore the Regiment was marched to Arcot and Arnee. Colonel Aston, who commanded it, then proceeded on leave to Madras; and Major Picton, a brother of Sir Thomas Picton, the Waterloo hero, assumed the acting command. Shortly afterwards a Lieutenant Hartley read to his brother Officers a letter that he had received from the Colonel in reply to an inquiry which he had made about some difference that he had had with Major Allen, the Paymaster. The Colonel wrote :—"If Major Allen has used you as you say, I think he has not treated you liberally," or words to that effect. Major Picton thereupon ordered a Regimental investigation, which showed that Major Allen was in the right. The minutes of the Court of Enquiry were forwarded to Colonel Aston in Madras, and he rejoined the Regiment, and issued an order reprimanding Major Picton in severe terms for presuming, in his—the Colonel's—absence, to call a meeting of the Officers without his sanction. Then Major Picton called him out; but at the duel the Major's pistol missed fire, and the Colonel fired in the air. "Honour" was thus "satisfied" in those bad old days. But the following day Major Allen called the Colonel out, and wounded him fatally. The Colonel lingered a few days, and was seen by Colonel Wellesley who had arrived from Madras, to whom the dying man said :—"Ah, my dear Arthur, is it you? I shall now die happy." In him Elers felt he had lost the best and kindest friend he had ever had. The Colonel left a favourite Arab horse to Colonel Wellesley; directed the destruction of Elers' note of hand to him for a considerable sum of money; and disposed of wine, plate, and furniture that he had in India. The two Majors were placed under arrest, sent down to Madras, tried by Court-martial and admonished. Then Major Allen was

arraigned before a Supreme Court, tried and acquitted. Both Majors returned to their duty with the Regiment. "But poor Allen never held up his head afterwards. He died in less than three months of a raging fever."

Elers missed the siege of Seringapatam, for he was ill at Vellore at the time, and he rejoined the Regiment after the fortress had been captured. Soon afterwards he went with another Officer to Madras—and lived awhile with two brother Officers of his Regiment at San Thomè. He then rejoined his Regiment at Wallajahbad, which he found was a good quarter, with a good Mess, a good billiard table, a good Regimental Library, and excellent shooting and hunting. Eventually the Regiment was moved to Poonamallee; and Elers being left with a Detachment at Wallajahbad found life very dull, "though it was," he says, "a source of great profit to me, as I made a considerable sum from the bazaar from my situation as Commanding Officer over 70 or 80 men." At length he rejoined the Regiment at Poonamallee. Then three Companies were sent back to Mysore; and Elers saw some active service at Cotiote against the local Rajah, who had surprised and massacred nearly the whole of a Battalion of Native Infantry. It is not stated what became of the Rajah after his followers had been dispersed. Elers afterwards found his way across to Talalcheri—Tellicherry—and Cannanore. He there met Colonel Wellesley again :—

When we left Cannanore we had only a guard of six troopers ; between us and our friend the Coorga Rajah's country lay part of our enemy's, the Cotiote country. Colonel Wellesley and I dashed on together first, unaccompanied by his Staff or the troopers, when he observed to me : "Now, Elers, if we are taken prisoners, I shall be hanged as being brother to the Governor-General, and you will be hanged for being found in bad company." We had not to go above 30 miles, when we safely reached the territory of the Coorga Rajah. I felt my mind much relieved, for, notwithstanding the joking way in which the Colonel treated it, we should most assuredly have been put to death, and in that case he would never have fought the Battle of Waterloo, or I recounted my adventures.

Elers accompanied Colonel Wellesley to Coorg, where the Rajah was very courteous, and prevailed upon the Colonel to

promise to intercede with his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, the Governor-General, for the remission of His Highness's kist of 5,000 pagodas per annum. The Colonel then pushed on, still accompanied by Elers, to Seringapatam, where he took Elers into his house, and kept him there for three months. There were usually eight to a dozen Officers and guests every day at the plain but good table that the Colonel kept. One day the Colonel received a despatch from England, in which it was mentioned that his brother had received a pension of £5,000 a year for the Mysore war, and that the Brevet step of Major-General had been given to the old Colonels. He asked Elers if he had an Army List. The latter fetched one for him, and said that unfortunately the promotion would not apply to Colonel Wellesley as he was within five or six of it. The Colonel replied sorrowfully, "My highest ambition is to be a Major-General in His Majesty's service." This was in May, 1801. And Elers remarks:—"Fourteen years afterwards he had fought the Battle of Waterloo, conquered Bonaparte, was a Prince, a Duke, a Knight of the Garter, Grand Cross of the Bath, a Grandee of Spain, and a Grand Cross of, I believe, every order of Knighthood in Europe."

In September, 1801, Elers was ordered to Trichinopoly, and took up his quarters in cantonments at Warriore. Here he made the acquaintance of Mr. Charles Darke, of Madras, a very rich man, to whom the Nabob of Arcot owed many lakhs of rupees. Mr. Darke's daughter married General Floyd, who was long stationed at Trichinopoly; and their daughter, Julia, married Sir Robert Peel, the statesman, grandfather of the present Baronet. There was then very good society in Trichinopoly; and there were occasional Subscription Balls and Subscription Races. At one Race Meeting "I won," says Elers, "more rupees than I could well carry home, but which I contrived to do, walking in the heat of the sun, as I had no conveyance. This was the happiest week I ever passed in India; everything seemed to prosper with me." In May, 1803, he obtained leave of absence to re-visit Madras, and performed the tedious journey of 200 miles with only one set

of bearers, by palanquin. He was therefore many days on the way. On his arrival at Madras he waited upon Lord William Bentinck, the new Governor, and met with a kind reception. The next day he dined with the Governor. "I remember," he says, "we had some of the finest Hermitage I ever drank." From Madras he proceeded on leave by sea to Cuttack to stay with Colonel Harcourt, who was living in great style there, in a large house, with many servants, all wearing scarlet and gold coats, with scarlet turbans, and bearing large silver sticks. Elers spent two months with the Colonel, and then proceeded, viâ Juggernaut, to Calcutta. He was well received by the Governor General. At the first dinner Lord Wellesley placed him on his right hand, and after dinner said :—"Captain Elers, I shall never give you any more formal invitation ; from this day a knife and fork will constantly be placed for your stay in Calcutta at my table."

From Calcutta Elers returned by sea to Madras, and then applied for leave to proceed on private affairs to England. Pending the receipt of the leave he was ordered to attend, as a member, a General Court-martial upon Major Yeaman and Lieutenant Sands, the latter of whom had killed Captain Bull of the 34th Regiment in a duel, at which the former acted as second.

Captain Bull was a remarkably fine young man, and of very quiet and gentlemanlike manners ; but it was his misfortune to be sent on a Detachment with the above Officers, together with others, who made themselves so disagreeable to him that he withdrew his name from the Detachment Mess. They took offence at this, and desired him to state his reasons for so doing. He gave as a reason that he was every day expecting a young lady from England to whom he was to be married, and he wished to live more economically in order to meet the expense that he should necessarily incur. They would not receive this as an excuse ; they said it was an affront to the whole Mess ; and they took up dice to throw who should call this poor young man out, and who should be the second. The lot fell upon Lieutenant Sands, and Major Yeaman as the second. A Lieutenant Johnson of the 34th was second to poor Captain Bull, who was killed at the first fire. It excited universal indignation throughout the Presidency.

Sands and Yeaman were first tried at the Supreme Court of Madras, before Sir Henry Gwillam, for murder. According to Elers they were saved by the perseverance of "a person named Hope, a very rich merchant, who kept a European shop":—

> He had once been a private soldier in India, but had made a fortune of £100,000. The whole Jury wanted to bring in the prisoners guilty, but Hope saved them, and brought the Jury over to his side, and when they came into Court, Hope, who was the foreman, pronounced "Not guilty." A dead silence prevailed. It was really awful. I never shall forget Sir Henry Gwillam saying: "Not guilty! A most merciful Jury! Prisoners," he said, "had you been found guilty, you never would have seen the sun rise again. You have had a most narrow escape of your lives. Let it be a warning to you."

The finding of the Court-martial resulted in both Officers being "broke."

Elers having sold off everything, embarked in the *Hawkesbury*, in which he had secured a passage for £200, and arrived in England after nearly ten years' absence, at the age of twenty-nine. He died in Jersey in 1841, aged sixty-four, after having compiled his Memoirs for the information of a nephew. They are not, perhaps, of historic importance, but they are studded with good stories, and they present, as the editors say, "a faithful and interesting picture of life in society and in the Army at the end of the 18th, and the beginning of the 19th centuries."

Mrs. Graham (Lady Callcott)

Maria, Lady Callcott, a daughter of Rear Admiral George Dundas, and a niece of Admiral Sir David Dundas, was born at Papcastle, near Cockermouth, in 1788; and married, at the age of twenty, Captain Thomas Graham, also of the Royal Navy. She accompanied her husband to India towards the close of 1808, and arrived in Bombay on May 26, 1809, after a voyage of twenty weeks. There was then but one "tavern," or inn, in Bombay; and as it was unfit for the reception of ladies, she and her husband became the guests of Sir James and Lady Mackintosh, who lived at

Tarola, about three miles from the Fort, in a house noted for containing "the best library that ever doubled the Cape." Early in February, 1810, she took a short voyage to Ceylon for the benefit of her health, which was somewhat impaired by fever. She remained a few days at Point de Galle, and made excursions in its beautiful neighbourhood. Then she proceeded to Colombo by that beautiful, well shaded road beside the sea which is a source of delight to all travellers. She was so much charmed with Colombo, and with the society there, that she said that if she could choose her place of residence for the rest of the time of her absence from England it should be at that town. She went to see Mount Lavinia, then the Governor's country house, and now chiefly known as a spot where honeymoons are often spent. In her "Journal of a Residence in India" she stated that "it is a charming residence; it literally overhangs the sea, and has all the beauty that hill and valley, wood and rocks, with a beautiful beach, and a fine open sea can give."

Early in March she embarked on board the Company's cruiser *Prince of Wales* for Bombay. She had a distant view of Cape Comorin. At Calicut she endeavoured "to trace the scenes of the first landing of Europeans in India, the meeting of the Zamorin and Vasco da Gama, the treachery of the Prince, and the bravery and presence of mind of the Admiral": but, like other visitors since her time, she found that the place "has passed so often through the hands of conquerors that every trace of former grandeur and importance is swept away." She was shown some heaps of stones and old walls that were said to mark the site of old Calicut, and she saw the large bazaar which had recently been desolated by a bad fire. The following morning she "walked a few miles into the country" in order to see, in "the bosom of the ghauts," the house of an English gentleman. On the way thither, "through palmy shades and aromatic woods," she called at the Zamorin's house, but he was absent at Pancanny —or Ponany. Then, returning to the cruiser, she had a glimpse of Tellicherry and the harbour of Goa. At length she reached Salsette, where she remained some days with a

friend who owned a considerable estate there. Having paid a visit to other friends at Bhandoop, she sailed, on June 1, from Bombay in H.M.S. *Illustrious*, commanded by Captain Broughton, who had accompanied Vancouver in his voyage round the world. On the 20th Trincomallee was reached; and she found that the scenery there was the most beautiful she had ever seen; she could compare it to nothing but Loch Katrine, in Scotland, on a gigantic scale.

She left Trincomallee in H.M.S. *Hecate*, and arrived off Madras three days later, after a very favourable passage. "I do not," she wrote, "know anything more striking than the first approach to Madras":—

> The low flat sandy shore extending for miles to the north and south, for the few hills there are appear far inland, seems to promise nothing but barren nakedness, when, on arriving in the Roads, the town and Fort are like a vision of enchantment. The beach is crowded with people of all colours, whose busy motions at that distance make the earth itself seem alive. The public offices and store-houses which line the beach are fine buildings, with colonnades to the upper storeys, supported by rustic bases arched, all of the fine Madras chunam, smooth, hard and polished as marble. At the short distance Fort George, with its lines and bastions, the Government House and gardens, backed by St. Thomas' Mount, form an interesting part of the picture, while here and there in the distance minarets and pagodas are seen rising from among the gardens.

She went ashore in the "accommodation boat" and was much interested by the "wild and plaintive" cry, and the dexterity of the boatmen, attired in a turban and "a half-handkerchief fastened to the waist by a packthread." On landing she was surrounded by "above a hundred dubashes," who clamoured for employment. She found her way to a friend's garden-house, "for at Madras everybody lives in the country, though all offices and counting-houses, public and private, are in the Fort, or town." She visited the Naval Hospital, a large, handsome, well-appointed building, with an excellent garden. "On the top is a large platform, where the convalescents take exercise, and enjoy fresh air, with the view over all Madras, its pettah, or Black Town, and garden-houses, to the shipping in the Roads. There is a rope-walk

attached to the Hospital, but it wants air, and is rather short; it, however, furnishes employment for the invalids."

From the Hospital she went to "the garden which the late Dr. Anderson had planted as a botanical garden, at a vast expense, but it is now in a sad state of ruin." There she was shown the "*Saguerus rhumphii*, a kind of palm from which an excellent sago is made," and black fibre suitable for cordage is obtained; and the *nopaul*, "a kind of prickly pear, on a species of which the cochineal insect lives, and which is now cultivated in Madras as an esculent vegetable. It was discovered by Dr. Anderson to be a valuable antiscorbutic, and has since been used on all men-of-war on the Indian Station, which are now almost free from that dreadful malady, the scurvy." She witnessed the clever sleight of hand of Madras jugglers, and was especially struck by the circumstance that the sword-swallower was the healthiest, best proportioned native she had ever seen. She passed the last week in July at Ennore, eight miles north of Madras, "where a small salt-water lake, with abundance of fine fish and excellent oysters were attractions which had induced a party of gentlemen to build a house by subscription on the edge of the lake." At this house "there is a meeting every week to eat fish, play cards, and sail about on the lake in two little pleasure-boats." Besides the subscription house—known as the Club House later on—there were only two other European houses. She walked to the beach to see the catamarans and the catamaran men. "Medals," she said, "are given to such of the boatmen as have saved drowning persons, or have distinguished themselves in conveying papers or passengers through the surf in dangerous weather."

As regards the English at Madras, it seemed to her that they had "a great deal more of external elegance than at Bombay, but, the same influences operating on the society, I find it neither better nor worse":—

I am told that it was once more agreeable. I do not wonder that it should have altered, for, during the late unhappy disputes between the Government and the Army, everybody sided with one party or the other, which of course begot a jealousy still rankling in the minds of

all. I am happy that we were not here at the crisis ; for though every good citizen must wish, where the Civil and Military powers come to an open rupture, that the former should prevail, I cannot help feeling that, in this instance, the Army was in the outset the injured party, and as some of my friends were of the same way of thinking, I am glad I was not here to countenance, by participating in, feelings of which it was so necessary to get the better.

She attended a public Ball at the Pantheon, and noticed that it was very well conducted. She described the Pantheon as being a handsome building. It contained a ball-room ; a "very pretty" theatre, card-room, and verandahs ; and it was used as a Lodge of "modern Masons, among whom almost every man in the Army and Navy who visits Madras enrols himself." Balls were held there occasionally all the year. The only other place for the meeting of European residents at that time was the Mount Road. It was "smooth as a bowling-green, and planted on each side with banyan and yellow tulip trees." It was then the fashion for all the gentlemen and ladies of Madras "to repair in their gayest equipages to the Mount Road, and after, driving furiously along, they loiter round and round the Cenotaph"—to the memory of Lord Cornwallis—"for an hour, partly for exercise, and partly for the opportunity of flirting and displaying their fine clothes, after which they go home, to meet again every day in the year." Then she touched upon other habits of local beauty and fashion in 1810 :—

But the greatest lounge at Madras is during the visiting hours, from 9 o'clock till 11, when the young men go from house to house to retail the news, ask commissions to town for the ladies, bring a bauble that has been newly set, or one which the lady has obliquely hinted, at a shopping party the day before, she would willingly purchase but that her husband does not like her to spend so much, and which she thus obtains from some young man, a quarter of whose monthly salary is probably sacrificed to his gallantry. When all the visitors who have any business are gone to their offices, another troop of idlers appears, still more frivolous than the former, and remains till tiffin, at 2 o'clock, when the real dinner is eaten, and wines and strong beer from England are freely drunk. The ladies then retire, and for the most part undress and lay down with a novel in their hands, over which they generally sleep. About 5 o'clock the master of the family returns from his office ; the lady dresses herself for the Mount Road, returns, dresses,

dines, and goes from table to bed, unless there be a Ball, when she dresses again, and dances all night; and this, I assure you, is a fair, very fair, account of the usual life of a Madras lady.

She left Madras, on August 26, in H.M.S. *Illustrious* for Calcutta, and after a stay in Bengal of four months, which she employed travelling, sketching, and taking notes, she embarked for Madras on December 23, and arrived on the 30th sufficiently near to see the ships in the Roads. "But it came on to blow so hard that we found it impossible to approach the Roads, and accordingly stood out to sea, with a considerable leak in our ship, and her foremast so frail that we were afraid to set much sail on it." It was not until she had undergone the discomfort of a week of pitching and tossing that she was able to land again at Madras. She found a summons awaiting her to return to England by the first opportunity; and she employed part of the interval before she could re-embark in a visit to the Seven Pagodas, thirty-six miles south of Madras. She was conducted over the relics of the ancient town by a Brahmin servant of Colonel Colin Mackenzie; and she remained there three days, braving the heat of the sun, and making a thorough survey of the place and the neighbourhood, which she minutely and graphically described in her Journal. On January 15, early in the morning, she left the tents to walk to a rock which she had been told was only two miles off, but she found it nearer four:—

The way is dreary and desolate; not a shrub, nor a tree, nor even a large stone to rest the eye upon; nothing but deep sand, with here and there a few patches of thick-leaved plants, and the surf beating with violence on the shore. . . . I was really fatigued with the length and heat of my walk, having neglected to carry even an umbrella; but some of the party at the tents sent a *tongon*, or open chair, carried like a palankeen, to meet me, and I got into it, about a mile and a half from the rock, and slept most comfortably till breakfast, after which I again set out to see the temple of Varaha.

She left the Seven Pagodas with some regret, as "there are many curious things I have not yet seen, and figures lying in every field." She remained in Madras four more weeks,

and then, on February 19, at noon, went to take leave of Admiral Drury, who had interested himself to procure a passage home for her in H.M.S. *Barbadoes*. She had a flattering "send off":—

I found assembled in his house the friends with whom I had been living, and all the Naval Captains on the Station, whom he had invited to a collation at my farewell visit. He had often said that no woman left alone, where he had the command, should have reason to think that he had forgotten that he was a husband and a father; and he acted up to his professions; for besides the attention he showed me in collecting my friends around me to take leave, and accompanying me himself to the beach, I found on board stores of every kind, sheep, milch goats, wine, preserves, pickles, fruit, vegetables: in short, everything that could possibly add to the comfort and convenience of a long voyage, and many of the things packed and directed by his own hand. I hardly thought I could have felt so much at leaving India as I did when I embarked at Madras; but there is something in leaving even a disagreeable place for ever that makes one sad without being able to account for it—much more when that place contains friends with whom one has been in daily intercourse, and from whom one has received kindness.

The fair traveller might have spared her friends in Madras the rather ambiguous remark about their place of domicile, especially as she appears to have been treated very well there. But she was young—only twenty-three—when she wrote, and later on she may have realized that the world contains many worse places than Madras. She reached England safely on June 27, and at once closed her Journal, "well satisfied," she said, "that this moment is one of the happiest of my life, and unwilling to write more lest I should have to record a less agreeable termination of my travels." The Journal was published in 1812 by Constable, in Edinburgh, and Longmans in London, illustrated by good steel engravings from her excellent sketches. In 1814 she published *Letters on India* that dealt exclusively with Northern India. She also wrote *Three Months in the Environs of Rome*; the *Memoirs of Poussin*; a *History of Spain*; an account of her travels in Chili and Brazil, *Little Arthur's History of England*, and other works.

Captain Graham, who had remained on foreign service

Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. (unfinished)

LADY CALCOTT.

Wife of Sir Augustus Calcott, R.A

when his wife returned home, joined her in England about the year 1818, and they travelled together in Italy in 1819, and set out in 1821 in the *Doris*, the ship that he commanded, for South America. He died off Cape Horn in April, 1822, and his widow returned home, and spent the five following years in active literary work. In 1827 she married Augustus Callcott, R.A., landscape painter, "son of a bricklayer, and brother of a musician," who, ten years later, was Knighted by Queen Victoria on Her Majesty's accession to the Throne. But previous to this Lady Callcott had become a confirmed invalid; and in 1842 she died at her husband's house and birthplace, the Gravel Pits, Kensington.[1] The (London) *Athenæum* when writing of her, shortly after her death, said :—

> Few women had seen so much of the world, or travelled so much, and none, perhaps, have turned the results of their activity to more benevolent account. . . . Noble, direct, generous, forgiving, quick, sensitive, kind, sympathetic, and religious, all that knew her will hold her memory in affectionate remembrance. She was an artist both in feeling and in practice, an excellent linguist, and her memory was extremely accurate and tenacious.

MR. JAMES WATHEN

Six months after the departure from Madras of Mrs. Graham, Mr. James Wathen, of Hereford, arrived there in the course of a voyage in the E. I. Co's. ship *Hope* from Gravesend to China and back. He published[2] his "Journal" on his return home. In the course of it he said :—" Mrs. Graham, in her entertaining Journal, seems to condemn the mode of living among the ladies of Madras, on account of its insipidity, monotony and indolence. She had undoubtedly," he proceeded to say, "more opportunities and greater facility

[1] There is an unfinished portrait of Lady Callcott in the National Portrait Gallery which, it is stated by the Director, was "painted at Rome in two hours by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.," and was bequeathed to the nation by Lady Eastlake. A swantype reproduction of it is given on the opposite page.

[2] *Journal of a Voyage in* 1811 *and* 1812 *to Madras and China.* By James Wathen. London: Nichols, 1814.

of observing and mixing with female society than myself; yet I had the honour of being introduced to many parties of mixed company, but I never witnessed that languor and insipidity of which she complains."

One day he dined at the "superb garden-house" of General Trepaud, where he met a "very elegant company of ladies and gentlemen." The weather was extremely warm; the insects were very troublesome; "several frogs, and one small poisonous serpent made their way into the saloon in which we were assembled." Yet the evening passed away in the most lively and agreeable manner. "One lady, who possessed a most melodious voice, sang and played several airs; and two other ladies entertained the company with some beautiful lessons on the pianoforte. The intervals were filled up with the sprightly conversation of the ladies, or the more scientific remarks of the General and his friends." Mr. Wathen attended a Ball at Government House, "where all the beauty and fashion of Madras were concentrated"; and he was "much gratified by the appearance of a great number of my lovely country-women, who displayed their charms to great advantage in the mazes of the sprightly dance." He was entertained at Brodie Castle by Sir John Newbolt (one of the Judges of the Supreme Court) and Lady Newbolt; and was charmed with that "very noble house," which had been built at great expense by Mr. Brodie, a local merchant, who having been impoverished by misadventures was living—at the time of Mr. Wathen's visit—"at Madras in a comparatively humble station." He waited upon Sir George Hilaro Barlow, the Bengal Civil servant, who was Governor of Madras, and was "much surprised and pleased at the unostentatious, yet sufficiently dignified appearance and conduct" of that personage. "He favours and encourages the arts; but where money, and the acquisition of fortune by the most expeditious means, are the principal, nay the only objects among the Europeans, the arts must languish and be neglected." He was received by Lady Barlow "in the most polite and condescending manner," so that he left Government House "with the most grateful sense of her kindness."

He attended the service at the Fort Church one Sunday morning, and found many carriages and palanquins near the doors, and he noticed that the ladies formed a large part of the congregation that filled the sacred edifice. Soon after he was seated a military Band was heard announcing the approach of the Governor, escorted by his guards, and accompanied by his Aides-de-Camp. "On their entry into the church the Band ceased playing, and a voluntary was performed on the organ, while the Governor took his seat on a chair of state under a canopy." The ladies occupied the centre of the church ; on one side the Company's Naval Officers were ranged, and on the other the Military Officers, all in full uniform. The heat was oppressive ; and though the punkahs were kept in continual motion, and produced a current of air, yet the temperature and the crowded state of the church rendered his situation "almost intolerable." The service over he was carried in his palanquin to the residence, near San Thomè, of Captain Bisse, also a native of Hereford, Assistant Quartermaster-General, who showed him much hospitality during the three months—July to September—that he remained in Madras. This house is the one now known as the Capper House Hotel, for Mr. Wathen mentioned that, "it was built by Colonel Capper, the geographer" ; and as it seemed to him "to afford a fair specimen of such buildings in this country, though it is much superior to what are generally called garden-houses," he gave a minute description of it. Elsewhere he stated that the houses in Madras, as well as the garden-houses in the country, were all flat-roofed, and "people often gave their entertainments on those roofs, where the guests sit covered with an awning." The bungalows, he added, "are inferior residences, with a thatched roof of cocoa or palm-tree leaves, having invariably a verandah, and these dwellings are very frequently constructed with great taste and elegance."

He was introduced to Mr. Corselus, a "miniature portrait-painter, who resided in Persewachum." "This gentleman was formerly a Military Officer in the Company's Service ; but his passion for the arts induced him to lay down his sword,

and assume the pencil. He had been successful beyond his expectations. His price for miniatures was forty guineas, and he had as much employment as he desired. His collection of pictures, drawings, miniatures, etc., was considerable." Then the traveller made the acquaintance of Hommagee Hadje Panda, an eminent diamond-merchant, then on the eve of leaving Madras, who gave a farewell entertainment to his European friends. Previous to dinner being served on the roof of the house at 8 o'clock, there was a performance by dancing-girls, one of whom struck Mr. Wathen as being "eminently beautiful; her olive complexion was forgot, even by us, the cold natives of the North, when we contemplated the lovely contour of her person, which she continually changed into the most graceful and classical attitudes, reminding the spectator of the Nymphs and Bacchantes of the Greeks." He was also entertained in a hospitable manner by Mr. Griffiths, "a very opulent merchant, the only surviving partner of the House of Hope and Company," the founder of which, Mr. Hope, his wife, and family were lost in the *Lady Jane Douglas* off Mauritius, on the voyage from Madras to London, in 1810.

Mr. Wathen left Madras with no small regret, and carried away with him impressions that were more appreciative than those which, under similar circumstances, Mrs. Graham placed on record. He said:—

I own that I never parted from a place which pleased me but I felt a melancholy sensation in the reflection that I might never see it again. This sensation was most acute on my leaving Madras, where I had met with the kindest hospitality from considerable persons, of religions and countries widely separated; from Hindus and Mahomedans, from Persians, and in particular from my own countrymen, when I reflected that I should never more revisit them, or the land which they inhabited. Full of these melancholy reflections, and at the same time of gratitude for the kindness I had experienced, I went on board. . . . The moon shone with all her lustre, and by her light I could faintly see the extensive Fort and Custom House of Madras, the Black Town, and some of the adjacent villages, where I had spent many very pleasant days. I retired at length into my cabin, after bidding my friends at Madras an affectionate farewell.

From an old painting Artist unknown.

MR. GEORGE ARBUTHNOT.

Founder of Arbuthnot & Co. Madras.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARBUTHNOTS

It is stated in a previous page that in 1804 Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary of the Government of Ceylon, was associated with the presentation to the Rev. James Cordiner, at Colombo, of a farewell address and a piece of plate previous to that gentleman's departure; and also that, on Mr. Cordiner's return to Madras, after an absence of five years, he met Mr. George Arbuthnot, who hospitably entertained him during the three months that passed before he left for England. These Arbuthnots were brothers, Robert being the eldest, and George the youngest of the four sons of Robert Arbuthnot, a merchant of Peterhead, who died in 1803. Their grandfather was another Robert Arbuthnot, also a merchant of Peterhead, who purchased the lands of Haddow, in the parish of St. Fergus; and who was a son of John Arbuthnot, also of Peterhead; who was a son of Robert Arbuthnot, of St. Fergus; who was a son of Robert Arbuthnot of Scotts Mill, Banffshire; who was a son of John Arbuthnot, of Rora, near Peterhead, a Notary Public in 1598, and factor of the Lord Marischal; who was a son of Robert Arbuthnot, also of Rora, about three and a half centuries ago.

Mr. Cordiner's friend, Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, was Secretary to Sir Robert Keith when the latter was Ambassador at Vienna, and he held the appointment of Chief Secretary to the Government of Ceylon from 1800 to 1807, during the Governorship of the Hon'ble Frederick North, afterwards Lord Guilford, who, like himself, was a bachelor. After returning home Mr. Arbuthnot was honoured with the friendship of the Duke of Sussex, (the favourite uncle of Queen Victoria, when a girl), and accompanied His Royal Highness in some of his tours in

Europe. Ultimately he was lost in H.M.S. *Cadiz*, under circumstances with which I am not acquainted. Mr. George Arbuthnot, Mr. Cordiner's kind host in Madras, was the founder there of a firm that has now been very prominently identified for upwards of a century with the commercial development of Southern India.

Born in 1772, Mr. George Arbuthnot accompanied his brother Robert, in 1800, on his voyage with Lord Guilford to Ceylon. He had already acquired considerable mercantile experience, and made numerous friends, including Sir Coutts Trotter, a leading figure in the world of commerce, at whose suggestion it was that he resolved to spend a portion of his life in the East. It was his lifelong habit to keep a journal in a neat and conscientious manner, and this record shows that he had a pleasant voyage, and was charmed with his fellow-passengers. Having spent a little time with his brother at Colombo, and learned something of the opportunities which offered at the historic capital of the Presidency of Madras, he proceeded thither, and became associated in business with a Mr. Lautour, the founder of an old firm bearing that gentleman's name. On Mr. Lautour's retirement from business, the firm was reconstituted under the name of Arbuthnot & Co. Its success, which was due to Mr. Arbuthnot's genius for business, led eventually to the starting of numerous offshoots, including Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., of Calcutta; Messrs. Ewart, Latham & Co., of Bombay; Messrs. Arbuthnot, Latham & Co., of London (of which the late Mr. Alfred Latham, Governor of the Bank of England, was the second partner); Messrs. Ogilvy, Gillanders & Co., and Messrs. Arbuthnot, Ewart & Co., of Liverpool (in which several members of the Gladstone family have been partners); and Messrs. Gladstone, Latham and Co., of Manchester.

At length, in 1823, impelled thereto by his increasing domestic responsibilities, Mr. Arbuthnot, although still in the prime of life, resolved to return home "for good and all," and spend there, among kith and kin, such further years as might be vouchsafed to him. Being British born and British bred he naturally preferred the "old country" to the "land of Ind";

but he ever cherished a lively interest in the commercial and moral welfare of the place where he had spent the most active, and not the least happy period, extending to twenty-two years, of his life. The duties connected with his association with the Madras firm compelled him to settle down within easy reach of the head-centre of British commerce, rather than in Scotland, as might have been more congenial to the feelings of one born north of the Tweed. He acquired, therefore, a small property named Elderslie, in a charming part of Surrey, being at the foot of Leith Hill, where he spent his summers, migrating to his house in Upper Wimpole Street, London, for the winter months.

In this comparative retirement, with the diversion of occasional visits among friends in the North, and some Continental journeyings in France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, accompanied by members of his family, Mr. Arbuthnot passed the remaining two decades of his life. It was not in his nature to wish "the applause of list'ning senates to command," and he therefore declined invitations to stand for Parliament. He took, however, a keen interest in political matters, and was a good, but by no means a narrow-minded Conservative. He held the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, as statesmen, in special regard. One way and another he afforded an admirable example of the best type of British merchants of his day. He possessed the "pen of the ready writer"; he wrote an excellent "hand"; and he did not mind trouble when conducting a large correspondence with business or private friends at home or abroad. He was an early riser, and a great economiser of time, while his habits were well calculated to maintain the vigour of his mind and body. He was a Justice of the Peace of a conscientious type; and, among other things, he was a Director of the Palladium Life and Fire Insurance Company (now absorbed in the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company); and an original member of the Oriental Club. At the time of the inauguration of Joint Stock Banks in London, other than the Bank of England, he was closely associated with the establishment of one of the new institutions; but he withdrew his name upon a suggestion that its appearance

might not be agreeable to some of his old friends who were partners in private banks.

In common with the founder of the firm of Rothschilds (whose eldest son succeeded him as head of the firm at Frankfort, and his four other sons were placed in charge of the offshoots of it in London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples, respectively) Mr. Arbuthnot believed in the hereditary principle in the constitution of mercantile and banking associations, and thus it has come to pass that sixteen of his relatives, or descendants, have joined the firm in Madras of which he was the greatly esteemed progenitor, namely :—

Colonel Patrick Vans Agnew . . .	brother-in-law.
John Fraser	brother-in-law.
George Arbuthnot (jun.)	son.
William Reierson Arbuthnot . . .	son.
Robert Hunter	nephew.
John Alves Arbuthnot	son-in-law and nephew.
Archibald Francis Arbuthnot . . .	nephew.
William Urquhart Arbuthnot . . .	nephew.
John Vans Agnew	nephew.
William Arbuthnot	grandson.
James Woodgate Arbuthnot . . .	grandson.
William Reierson Arbuthnot (jun.)	grandson.
Malcolm Alexander Arbuthnot . .	grandson.
Sir William Wedderburn Arbuthnot, Bart.	great-nephew.
Sir George Gough Arbuthnot . . .	great-nephew.
Reginald James Arbuthnot . . .	great-nephew.

Moreover George Clerk Arbuthnot, nephew, joined the firm of Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., Calcutta, and was also head of the firms of Ewart, Latham & Co., Bombay, and Ogilvy, Gillanders & Co., and Arbuthnot, Ewart & Co., both of Liverpool. The above-mentioned John Alves Arbuthnot, and Archibald Francis Arbuthnot, nephews, and William Reierson Arbuthnot (jun.), grandson, after leaving the Madras firm, joined the firm of Arbuthnot, Latham & Co., London. The latter firm was also joined by John De Monte Arbuthnot, son, Charles George Arbuthnot, Hugh Littleton Arbuthnot and Herbert Robinson Arbuthnot, grandsons, and High Gough Arbuthnot and Lionel Gough Arbuthnot, great-nephews of Mr. Arbuthnot.

One of Mr. Arbuthnot's daughters married the second

Viscount Gough, and was the mother of the present Viscount: and one of his nephews, Mr. Archibald Arbuthnot, married a daughter of Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, K.P., and became the father of Sir George Gough Arbuthnot, the present head of the firm. Mr. William Urquhart Arbuthnot, another nephew, was for several years a member of the Civil Service of Madras; then joined the firm; eventually retired; returned to England; was appointed, in 1858, an original Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, on the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, which appointment he held until his death in 1874. William Arbuthnot, a brother of the founder of the firm, was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1822, on the occasion of the memorable visit of King George IV. The "First Gentleman in Europe," as His Majesty loved to be described, was right loyally entertained at a civic banquet in "Modern Athens"; and, after his health had been toasted with all honours, and he had acknowledged the compliment, he rose once more, and, without having intimated his intention to bestow the honour, said: "I take this opportunity, my Lords and Gentlemen, of proposing the health of the Lord Provost, Sir William Arbuthnot, Baronet, and the Corporation of Edinburgh." Sir William Wedderburn Arbuthnot, son of the second Baronet by a daughter of Field-Marshal Sir John Fitzgerald, G.C.B., retired from 18th Hussars, in which he was a Major, in order to join the firm. His son, Captain Sir Robert Keith Arbuthnot, R.N., is at present in command of H.M.S. *Victory* at Plymouth.

The Arbuthnots have corpuscles of Royal blood in their veins. The ramifications of Royal Families become so numerous as centuries glide away that many a humble-minded individual, who has not a ghost of an idea of such being the case, may be entitled to be included in the large category of persons descended from the famous Norman who carried out a raid with a success that may make Dr. Leander Jameson, C.B., of Transvaal fame, green with envy when he thinks about it. We are all of Tennyson's way of thinking:—

Howe'er it be, it seems to me
'Tis only noble to be good;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

So the majority of people take no pains to trace their ancestry. Like Topsy, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, they do not fash their minds about their origin. "I 'specs I growed," said that young person. They are content to be judged, not by their descent, but by their deeds. Possibly they would not protest loudly if they were shown to be related to "persons of quality" in days gone by. But they hold with Burns that, after all said and done, "rank is but the guinea's stamp, a man's a man for a' that," since :—

A King can make a belted Knight
A Marquis, Duke, and a' that,
But an honest man's above his might,
Guid faith, he mauna fa' that.

"For a' that" it is interesting to learn of unassuming acquaintances being off-shoots of historic Royalty.

It will be remembered that William the Conqueror was the father of King Henry I.; who was the grandfather of Henry II.; who was the father of John; who was the father of Henry III.; who was the father of Edward I., rudely called "Longshanks." King Edward married, firstly, Eleanor, daughter of King Ferdinand III. of Castile, by whom he had three sons (including King Edward II.), and five daughters; and, secondly, Margaret, daughter of King Philip III. of France, by whom he had two sons, Thomas (whom he created Earl of York) and Edmund. Having been born at that place in 1301, the latter is known in history as "Edmund of Woodstock." The King intended to confer upon him the rich Earldom of Cornwall, but he was prevented by death from carrying out this project, and his son and successor, Edward II., bestowed it upon his own favourite, Piers Gaveston, instead of upon his half-brother, then six years of age. But the new King eventually made Edmund successively Lord of the Castle and Manor of Knaresborough, Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sheriff of Rutland, Lieutenant of the Northern

Marches, Chief Commissioner of Array, in Cumberland, as well as Earl of Kent. He also employed him on various embassies. The Earl married a daughter of Lord Wake of Liddell, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. He was present at the Coronation of his young nephew, King Edward III., in Westminster Abbey in 1327. Soon afterwards he became involved in a conspiracy against the Queen Mother, Isabella, and her paramour, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March ; and being inveigled into a trap which furnished a plausible excuse for bringing him to trial before Parliament then sitting at Winchester, he was found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to death. The sentence was confirmed by the Queen Mother as Regent, and he was led to a spot outside the walls for execution. But, as no one dared to accept the odious office of executioner of a Royal Prince, he was kept there, in terrible suspense, from morning until evening. Then a condemned criminal, on the promise of pardon for himself, cut off his head. He was only twenty-eight years of age. He was not a wise or popular personage, but his cruel fate increased public aversion to the Queen and Mortimer ; and a year later, when the revolt against their tyranny succeeded, the latter was decapitated, notwithstanding the Queen's entreaty to the young King :—
" Sweet son, have pity on gentle Mortimer."

The elder son of the Earl of Kent succeeded to his title and estates ; but, dying aged six, he was succeeded by his brother, who died aged twelve; whereupon they devolved upon the sister, Joanna, who thus became Countess of Kent and Lady Wake of Liddell in her own right. She was endowed, not only with wealth, but also with great beauty, and she is known in history as the " Fair Maid of Kent." She had many suitors. For a time she halted between two opinions, as represented by Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury, and Sir Thomas Holland, the Steward of Lord Salisbury's household. Eventually she gave the preference to the latter, who was a son of Sir Robert Holland of Holland, in Lancashire, and who, on his marriage with the Fair Maid, assumed, as her husband, the title of Earl of Kent. He was successful in love and fortunate

in war, for he saw much active service as a soldier, especially at the battle of Creçy, where he commanded a division under Edward the Black Prince. Eventually he was appointed Governor of Creyk, in Normandy, and there it was that he died in 1360. His widow, who was with him at his death, returned home, and eventually married the Black Prince, by whom she had no children.

By her first marriage she had three sons, the eldest of whom, Thomas, eventually succeeded, at her death, to the title of Earl of Kent. He married, and one daughter was born to him, Margaret Holland, who married John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, by whom she had a daughter, named Joane. Joane married, firstly, King James I. of Scotland (thus becoming Queen of Scotland), by whom she had a daughter, Princess Arabella ; and, secondly, Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn, by whom she had a son, Sir James Stewart, Earl of Athole. Princess Arabella had a son, Alexander, third Earl of Huntly ; while to her half-brother, Sir James Stewart, Earl of Athole, a daughter, named Janet, was born. The half-cousins, Alexander and Janet, made a match of it, and had a son, John, Lord Gordon, who wedded Princess Margaret, daughter of King James IV. of Scotland. George, son of Lord Gordon and the Princess, became fourth Earl of Huntly, as well as High Chancellor of Scotland. He married a daughter of Lord Keith, by whom he had a son, who succeeded him as Marquis and High Chancellor, and married a daughter of the Duke of Chatelhérault. His son became the first Marquis of Huntly, and married a daughter of the Duke of Lennox. He was succeeded in turn by his son George, the second Marquis, who married a daughter of the seventh Earl of Argyll, and was executed in 1649, shortly after the execution of King Charles I.

The ill-fated Marquis left a son, who eventually became Duke of Gordon ; and a daughter, Mary, who married Adam Urquhart, of Meldrum, by whom she had a son, John Urquhart of Meldrum. This John Urquhart was the father of William Urquhart : who was the father of Jane Urquhart : who, marrying John Urquhart of Craigston and Cromarty,

became the mother of Mary Urquhart, who married the above-mentioned Robert Arbuthnot of Peterhead, the father of the founder of the firm bearing his name. So, when the present head of that firm attends the King's Levées, he has the honour of making obeisance to his very distant kinsman, the illustrious occupant of the Throne. Moreover, he is married to a lady who, besides being granddaughter of the eighth Earl of Cork, is daughter of the Hon'ble Eleanor Vere Boyle—the "E.V.B." who has from time to time presented the world with fascinating descriptions of rural life in Buckinghamshire and Scotland in the vein of Gilbert White, of Selborne. Lady Arbuthnot has this advantage over her husband, that whereas, as has been shown, he is descended from King Edward I., by that monarch's second wife, Queen Margaret, she, as a granddaughter of Alexander Gordon, of Ellon Castle, Aberdeenshire, is descended from that monarch by his first wife, Queen Eleanor. Consequently, their daughter, who recently married Captain the Hon'ble Robert Lygon, brother of Earl Beauchamp, is descended from both Queens.

The Arbuthnot family owes its reputation not only to the premier mercantile firm of South India, but also to many members of it who have in various public capacities deserved well of, and received well from the State. This has been especially noticeable in the Presidency of Madras, where several Arbuthnots have from time to time served in the local Army, and where one representative of the family achieved a distinction in the local Civil Service which may not be soon surpassed. Robert Arbuthnot, of Scotts Mills, who died in 1682, aged seventy-two, had by his wife, Beatrix Gordon, four sons, of whom the eldest was Alexander Arbuthnot, who took holy orders, and became in 1663 the Minister of Holywood, which benefice he retained two years. He was then appointed Minister of Aburbothenoth, or Arbuthnot, an ancient parish in Kincardineshire. He continued to discharge his ministerial duties until 1689, but being a Jacobite, he came under the displeasure of King William III., after that monarch had hustled his father-in-law, King James II., off the Throne:

and he was consequently deprived of his living by the Privy Council. Thereupon he made the best of mundane things by retiring to the Castle of Hall Green, near Bervie, and purchasing the small estate of Kinghornie, where he lived the quiet life of a country gentleman until 1691, when he died, leaving four sons and five daughters.

The eldest son, John Arbuthnot, having studied medicine at Aberdeen and graduated at St. Andrew's, went to London to try his fortune, and for a time eked out a livelihood by teaching mathematics, and by the production of essays. He showed such literary ability and scientific knowledge that in 1704 he had the honour conferred upon him of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, at the early age of thirty-seven. He then took to the serious pursuit of medicine, instead of mathematics, and rose in his profession. By what men call good luck he was at Epsom one day when Prince George of Denmark, the Consort of Queen Anne—who had succeeded to the Throne in 1702, but who did not follow her sister's example of allowing her husband to share it with her—was suddenly taken ill, and he prescribed for him so dexterously that Her Majesty's heart was touched, and in 1705 she appointed him her Physician Extraordinary, and, in 1709, one of her four Physicians in Ordinary. He gained the friendship of Swift, Pope, Gay, and other geniuses of that brilliant literary period, and he is supposed to have been associated with the production of *Tristram Shandy*. His professional skill did not avail to save the Queen from the misery of giving birth to sixteen children, all of whom died at birth, or in infancy, or in childhood; but he retained his high place in her regard; and he was present at her last illness in Kensington Palace with the other Royal Physicians, Sir Richard Blackmore, Dr. Shadwell, and Dr. Mead, as well as the Bishop of London, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Shrewsbury and Lord Bolingbroke. The Queen was tired of life, and Dr. Arbuthnot in a letter to Dean Swift said:—" I believe sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller than death was to her." He now lost his place at Court, and thought it prudent to retire to Paris, while King George I., who never succeeded

in mastering English, settled down as King of England. But returning to London he recovered his good practice among people of wealth and fashion, and made most of them agree with Swift that "he has more wit than we all have, and his humanity is equal to his wit." At last he was taken seriously ill; and he had occasion to say that, "a recovery in my case, and at my age is impossible, the kindest wish of my friends is euthanasia." Then, at the age of sixty-eight, he died, at Hampstead, in February, 1734. His elder son, George Arbuthnot — who is said to have been as melancholy in manner as his father was cheerful — one of the executors of Pope's Will, became Secondary in the Remembrancer's Office, and died, unmarried, in 1779, aged seventy-six.

Robert Arbuthnot, the second son of the Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot, was born at Arbuthnot in 1669, and married in 1726. He took, like his grandfather, to commerce; and having, owing probably to his Jacobite proclivities, left England, and settled at Rouen, he there established himself as a banker. He died, leaving a son, John Arbuthnot, a Knight of the Order of St. Louis of France. His next brother, Alexander, born at Arbuthnot, died in infancy, as also did another brother, similarly named Alexander. Then came the youngest brother, George Arbuthnot. Owing doubtless to the influence of his eldest brother, the Royal Physician, he entered Queen Anne's bodyguard, but on her death he retired, probably with that brother, to France, to await the turn of events. Eventually he entered the service of the East India Company, and went to India, where he did so well that on his return home he established himself as a merchant in London. He left one son, also named John, who not only became an Inspector of the Irish Linen Board, but emulated King Henry VIII. by marrying five wives, by the last of whom —daughter of an Under Secretary of State (who was a banker), and niece of the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland— he had five sons and as many daughters. The eldest son, George Arbuthnot, born in 1764, went to India; and while in that country married a daughter of General Brisco

of the Coldstream Guards, and had a daughter, who married Sir John Lister Kaye, and died in 1867.

The second son of John Arbuthnot, the Inspector under the Linen Board (described as being of Ravensbury, Mitcham, Surrey, and of Rockfleet Castle, County Mayo), was named Charles. He was born in 1767, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and commenced his public career as a *précis* writer in the Foreign Office. Two years later, or in 1795, he entered Parliament as Member for East Looe, and gradually worked his way up to the Under-Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs, and then to the Ambassadorship at Constantinople, where he was sworn of the Privy Council. He returned to England, after only three years' service as Ambassador; but he had done such good work during the time that the Government granted him a pension of £2,000 a year. He re-entered Parliament as Member for Eye. He was Joint Secretary of the Treasury from 1809 until 1817, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1828 to 1830, and a member of the Privy Council. He and his wife were great friends of the Duke of Wellington. The Marchioness of Salisbury (mother of the late Prime Minister) mentions in one of her letters (Salisbury MSS.) from Hatfield House, dated August 2, 1834, that the Duke of Wellington—who was then sixty-five years of age, and had been a widower three years—

came down to dinner in high spirits. He told us Mrs. Arbuthnot had been ill at Woodford, with an attack of the nature of cholera, but was better. I had just gone to bed, with the other ladies, when an express arrived to the Duke with the intelligence of Mrs. Arbuthnot's death. He threw himself in the greatest agitation on the sofa, as Lord Salisbury told me, and the letter on the floor; and then rose and walked a few minutes about the room, almost sobbing, after which he retired. In the morning Lord Salisbury got a note from him saying he must go to Mr. Arbuthnot, and he left for Woodford about half-past eight on Sunday morning. It is a dreadful loss to him; for whether there is any foundation or not for the stories usually believed about the early part of their *liaison*, she was certainly *now* become to him no more than a tried and valued friend, to whom he was sincerely attached. Her house was his home; and, with all his glory and greatness, *he never had a home*. His nature is domestic, and, as he advances in years, some female society and some fireside to which he can always resort become necessary to him.

SIR WILLIAM ARBUTHNOT, BART.,
Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1822.

SIR ALEXANDER ARBUTHNOT, K.C.S.I.
Ag; Governor of Madras, 1872.

GEN. SIR CHARLES ARBUTHNOT,.G.C.B.
Commander-in-Chief, Madras, 1886 - 91

SIR GEORGE GOUGH ARBUTHNOT.
Now of Messrs Arbuthnot & Co.

After his wife's death, Mr. Charles Arbuthnot was prevailed upon by the Duke to make Apsley House his permanent place of residence in London, and it was there that he died in 1850, aged eighty-three. There is at Apsley House a miniature of Mrs. Arbuthnot, which, it is said, the Duke constantly wore round his neck, suspended by a chain of her dark brown hair.

There is yet another son of John Arbuthnot, of Ravensbury, Mitcham, about whom something should be said, as he was the father or grandfather of several men who did good work in Madras. This was Alexander Arbuthnot, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, first Vicar of Annaghdown and Killascobe, then Rector of Crossboyne and Kilcoleman, then Archdeacon of Aghadive, then Dean of Croyne, and lastly Bishop and Doctor of Divinity. He was born in 1768, and died in 1828. He married, in succession, two first cousins of the name of Bingham, and by each wife he had two sons and two daughters. His second son, George Bingham Arbuthnot, entered the Madras Army, became Colonel of the 8th Madras Cavalry, and died a full General in 1867, leaving a son, Colonel George Arbuthnot, Madras Cavalry, at one time Assistant Adjutant-General of the Madras Army. The Bishop's second wife died in 1877, aged ninety-two, leaving two sons, Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I., of the Madras Civil Service, retired;[1] and the late General Sir Charles George Arbuthnot,

[1] He was educated at Rugby and Haileybury College, and was appointed to the Madras Civil Service in 1842. He arrived at Madras in September of that year, and during the following thirteen years he served as Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Malayalam Translator to the Government, Secretary to the College and University Boards, and Acting Registrar to the Sadar Court. In 1855 he became Director of Public Instruction, Madras, and held that position with signal distinction for seven years, when he was appointed Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, and a member of the Legislative Council. In 1867 he was appointed a Member of the Madras Council, and retained that position for the customary five years. From February until May, 1872, he was Provisional Governor of Madras during the absence of Lord Napier, the Governor, who acted

G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of Madras 1879 to 1884, who served with much distinction in the Crimea and Afghanistan.

Both of the Bishop's younger brothers, Robert and Thomas, served in the Peninsular War, were awarded the Knight Commandership of the Bath, and appointed Colonels of Royal Regiments. Sir Robert Arbuthnot was present, as Aide-de-Camp to General (afterwards Lord) Beresford, at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, and served in South America, where he was taken prisoner, and so remained eighteen months. On his release he returned home, and served on General Beresford's Staff, first as Aide-de-Camp, and then as Military Secretary during the Peninsular War. He was present at the battles of Corunna, Busaco, Torres-Vedras, Albuera, Neville, Neve, Orthes, and Toulouse, and at the sieges of Olivenza, Badajoz, and Cuidad Rodrigo. He received the gold cross, the war medal, Portuguese and Spanish Orders and other honours. He is said to have been an "officer of conspicuous gallantry," who "was remarkable for his quickness of eye and readiness of resource." As for Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, he served in the Peninsula under General Picton, who held him in high esteem, and the Duke of Wellington gave practical proof of the good opinion that he entertained of him. He died a bachelor in 1849, aged seventy-three; but Sir Robert Arbuthnot married, and left at his death, in 1853, aged eighty, a son, George Arbuthnot, a permanent Officer in the Treasury from 1820 until his death, aged sixty-three, in 1865.

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as Viceroy after the assassination of Lord Mayo. He vacated his seat in the Madras Council in October, 1872, and retired from the Civil Service of Madras in October, 1874. In the following June he became a member of the Council of the Governor-General. In 1877 he was appointed a Councillor of the Empress of India at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. He vacated his seat in the Viceregal Council in April, 1880. Seven years later he was appointed a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and held that position for the usual ten years, or until October, 1897. He was appointed C.S.I. in 1872; K.C.S.I. in 1872; and C.I.E. in 1878. He is now, at the age of eighty-four, the senior of the Madras Civil Service Annuitants.

The *Globe* then published a notice of the career of Mr. George Arbuthnot that the *Times* reproduced, in which it was said that he was distinguished for great tact, judgment and firmness, and that by these qualities, as well as by his remarkable aptitude for business, he had exerted a valuable influence—especially as Auditor, since 1850, of the Civil List —in checking and controlling public expenditure. "His talents, added to his great official knowledge and honesty of purpose, were of very material assistance in enabling his Department to sustain its position in conflicts" with spending Departments of the State, "especially in questions relating to currency and banking subjects, to which he had for many years paid attention, and in which he took a peculiar interest." He "had possessed unusual opportunities of becoming acquainted with every detail of public business, and the experience which he had thus acquired rendered him peculiarly fitted to advise the members of Government, under whom he served, and to receive their confidence." He was an occasional contributor to the *Economist*. His "style was singularly vigorous and clear, and the rapidity with which he wrote constituted not the least remarkable of his many merits as public servant." He was twice offered the appointment of Finance Minister of India, which would have been held with peculiar appropriateness by a man of his name, attainments and connections; but he did not consider that his age and the delicate state of his health allowed of his going to India. "Ripe with the experiences of his long official life, but to the last full of vigour and energy, he died literally in harness." The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury placed on record their high sense of his "singular and eminent service." This was a few days after society had been shocked by news of the instantaneous death at Interlaken, from a stroke of lightning, while on her wedding tour, of the bride of his kinsman, Captain William Arbuthnot, 14th Hussars (subsequently Major-General and C.B.), eldest son of Mr. Archibald Arbuthnot. The second of Mr. George Arbuthnot's three sons is a Colonel of the Royal Artillery. The third, now Vicar of Roscommon, was formerly in the

4th European Light Cavalry, from which he retired with the rank of Captain. He also, therefore, is entitled to use the family motto of :—"Innocent and True."

The motto crystallises a romance. The story goes that, once upon a time there was a beautiful Queen in Scotland, who excited the passion of a villain named Rodingham ; and that when she repelled his advances, he introduced a drunken leper into her chamber, and then accused her to the King of infidelity. The King, being convinced by circumstantial evidence of her guilt, condemned her to be "burned at a stake." Yet he tempered what he took to be justice with mercy, and added :—

Perhaps I'll take my word again
  And may repent the same,
If that you'll get a Christian man
  To fight this Rodingham.

The Queen declared that she had done no wrong, yet she feared :—

There's not a man in all Scotland
  Will fight with him for me.

But Sir Hugo le Blond (so-called from his flaxen hair) at once came forward, and challenged Rodingham to mortal combat :—

They then advanced to fight the duel
  With swords of tempered steel,
'Til down the blood of Rodingham
  Came running to his heel.

Before he died he confessed his treachery, and exonerated the Queen. So the King's wrath was appeased :—

The Queen then said unto the King,
  "Arbattle's near the sea ;
Give it unto the northern knight
  That this day fought for me."

Then said the King, "Come here, Sir Knight,
  And drink a glass of wine,
And if Arbattle's not enough
  To it we'll Fordoun join."

Thus did the Queen's heroic champion become possessed of Arbattle, or Aerbothenoth, and took his name therefrom, as well as the motto of "Innocent and True," which the King granted him to commemorate his gallantry.

Sir Walter Scott gave the ballad in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*; and, though he regarded the story as apocryphal, he considered that its antiquity was indubitable. "Whether true or false," he said, "the incident narrated is in the genuine style of chivalry." This certainly is true, that the lands of Aerbothenoth were bestowed by the Crown upon a crusader named Olifard, or Oliphant, from whom they eventually passed to his relative, Hugo le Blond, or de Aerbothenoth, an ancestor of the present (the eleventh) Viscount Arbuthnott. The muniments of the family, which are in a wonderful state of preservation at Arbuthnott House, near the village of Arbuthnott, or Arbuthnot in Kincardineshire, extend back to the year 1206, or for nearly three and a half centuries before the founding of Fort St. George.

APPENDIX I

(*Page* 6) THE NAME OF MADRAS

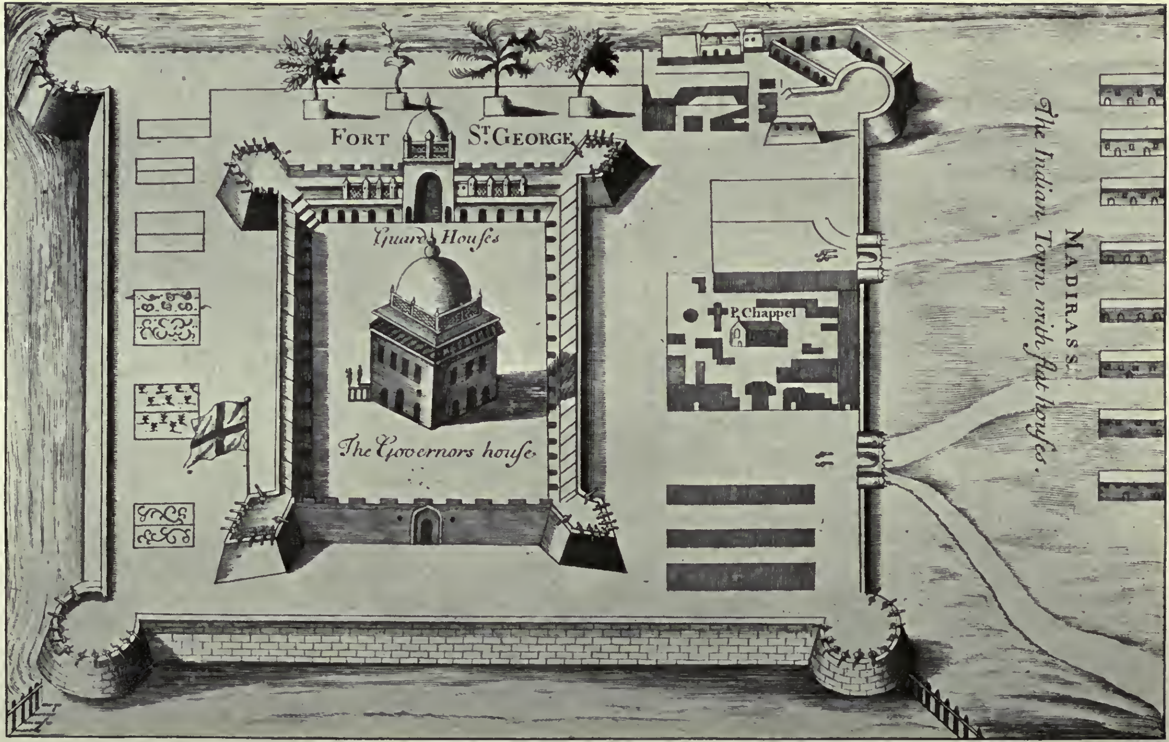
It is upwards of eighty years since Bundla Ramasawmy Naidu wrote a memoir on the revenue system of Madras, which, fifty years later, was reproduced in the *Selections from the Records of the South Arcot District*, published under the authority of Government. According to him the representatives of the East India Company, either at Masulipatam or at Armagon, enlisted the assistance of his ancestor, Berry Timmapa of Palacole, near Maddipollam, in their approach to the Native Princes farther down the Coast. Then, Berry Timmapa "procured them permission from one Damerla Vencatapa Naick to build a factory at Madras," and obtained "a Shasanam, or grant from Streerunga Royaloo, who then reigned at Chandragerry, for three villages, namely Egmore, Tondavadoo and Poodupauk," subject to the condition that the new factory should bear the name of Chennama Naick, the father of Damerla Vencatapa Naick. Furthermore, this Berry Timmapa, according to his descendant, assisted in the building of the town called Chennapatnam, on the north side of the factory; and exerted himself to induce people from different parts of the outlying country to settle in, and carry on their various trades or occupations there. He also caused two pagodas to be built, the one, sacred to Vishnoo, being called Chenna Casawa Permal, and the other, sacred to Shiva, being called Chinna Malleswara. Then the author proceeded to say, that "the gentleman who was Agent at that time, Mr. Day, undertook to build a factory on the spot where there was a fisherman's coopam, the head man of which was a Christian, named Madrasen, who having thrown some obstacle in allowing the piece of ground he was in possession of, which was his plantain garden, Berry Timmapa had by his influence obtained that spot, promising him that he would cause the factory which was about to be erected to be called after his name, as Madaresenpatam, or commonly Madraspatam."

In his monograph on the founding of Fort St. George, which is noticed in a previous page, Mr. William Foster gives the above account of the genesis of Madras, but expresses his disbelief in the main parts of it. The grant of the villages of Egmore, Tondavadoo, and Poodupauk, was not made over to the English until long after the time of Berry Timmapa. But Mr. Foster thinks it probable that Berry Timmapa was the native go-between in Day's negotiations with the Naik, and that he may have usefully employed himself in inviting

his countrymen to take up their abode in the town that sprang up in the vicinity of the Fort. The original of the firman granted by the Naik to Day as well as that of Day's letter dated from Armagon, on July 27, 1639, narrating his proceedings for the information of the authorities at Masulipatam, prior to his arrival at that settlement, are not known to be in existence; though three duplicates of both documents, contained in the India Office Records, leave no room for doubt that reference was made in the grant to "our port of Madraspatam." But subsequently, by the donor's desire, the new settlement was called Chennapapatnam, after his father Chennapa, which name was eventually modified into Chennapatnam. Twenty years after the granting to Day of the above-mentioned firman, Mr. Chambers became Agent at Fort St. George, and he retained that position three years, during which he wrote for Mr. Jonathan Trevisae, a friend of his in Bengal, a brief narrative of the founding of Madras. The original of this narrative has been lost, but there is a copy of it in the India Office. In this account Mr. Chambers mentions that Damarla Japa Nainda "writ to Mr. Day that he would have a town founded in his Father's Chennapa Naindu's name." This Damarla is recognized by Mr. Foster as Ayjapaneyck, or Ayappa Naick, residing at Punamalla, viceregent and younger brother of Damarla Venketadra, or Venkatappa, the giver of the grant. "Damarla," Mr. Foster says, "appears to have been a family name, and it was borne by the father of the present Rajah of Kalahasti, who is stated to be a descendant of Day's Naik."

All this goes to explain why it is that, although the first English settlers may have departed from their agreement with the Naik to call the town they erected Chennapatnam, after his father's name, that name is still associated by the native population at large with the city of Madras. It will probably continue to be so until the end of time. The settlers referred to soon grew tired of the use of so long a name as Madraspatam—or, as in one place it appears, Madrazpatam—for, writing in September, 1642, to the authorities at Bantam, the Madras factors said:—"Wee now are and have byn a twelvemonth constant resident at Maddaras, and have made that the Cheife place for your other Factories to account to." Mr. Foster states that this is the first instance of the use of the abbreviated form. "In the original, however, the word comes at the end of a line, and has a mark of contraction over it; so we cannot infer that this form had yet become general." But, as to the derivation of the word Madras, reliable information is still lacking, since the pretty story of the Christian fisherman, Madrasen, being the name-father of the city, must be regarded as no more than an evolution from the inner consciousness of a romantic writer.

Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R.E., and Mr. Arthur Burnell, M.C.S., in their admirable Glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, on which they conferred the strange title of *Hobson-Jobson*, said that the question as to the derivation had been much debated,



Reproduced from Fryer's "Travels"

Published 1698

FORT ST. GEORGE, IN 1673.

but with little result. They found that in the earliest maps the name Madraspatanam—meaning the "city of the Madras"—is given to the localities long known as Triplicane and Royapettah. Fryer's map published in 1698, which illustrates Fort St. George as he saw it in 1673, and which is reproduced on the opposite page, shows on the right hand the southern limits of "Madirass, The Indian Town with flat houses." It also depicts "the Governor's house" in the Fort, as a Mahomedan building, with a dome, that may possibly have once been what the Mahomedans call a "Madrasa" or College. Hence the conclusion that the name "Madras" was derived from "Madrasa," or "Madrisa." In a document under date 1681, written by certain Portuguese at San Thomè, shortly after the founding of Fort St. George, and still extant, the new settlement in their vicinity is called "Madaraza."

APPENDIX II

(*Page* 16) FORT ST. GEORGE IN 1673

In connexion with the foregoing remarks it may be mentioned that "John Fryer, M.D., Cantabrig., and Fellow of the Royal Society," published, in 1698, *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters, being Nine Years' Travels, begun* 1672 *and finished* 1681." The book was "printed by R. R. for R. I. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, London," and was "illustrated with Maps, Figures, and Useful Tables," including, as the frontispiece, a large and well executed steel engraved portrait of himself. By permission of the East India Company he embarked at Gravesend, as one of the two passengers on board the ship *Unity*, Captain Craft, 350 tons, 34 guns. That vessel formed one of a fleet of ten ships bound for the East, including the *London*, Captain Bass, 500 tons, 40 guns, with the Admiral; the *President*, Captain Hyde, 500 tons, 42 guns, with the Vice-Admiral; and the *Sampson*, Captain Eming, 460 tons, 40 guns, with the "Rere"-Admiral. To this fleet "his Majesty Charles II was pleased to grant Letters of Mark, which empowered them to wear the King, Jack, Ancient end Pennant, and to act as Men of War (the English and French at this time being at open defiance against the Dutch)." The following is his description of how he arrived, and what he observed at Fort St. George:—

I went ashore in a Mussoola, a Boat wherein ten Men paddle, the two aftermost of whom are the Steersmen, using their Paddles instead of a Rudder. The Boat is not strengthened with Knee-Timber, as ours are; the bended Planks are sown together with Rope-Yarn of the Cocoe, and calked with Dammar (a sort of Rosin taken out of the Sea) so artificially, that it yields to every Ambitious Surf, otherwise you could not get ashore, the Bar knocking in pieces all that are inflexible. Moving towards the Shore, we left St. Thomas, which lies but Three Miles to the South of Maderas and Fort St. George; in the midway Maderas River in great Rains opens its Mouth into the Sea; having first saluted the Banks of Fort St. George on the West.

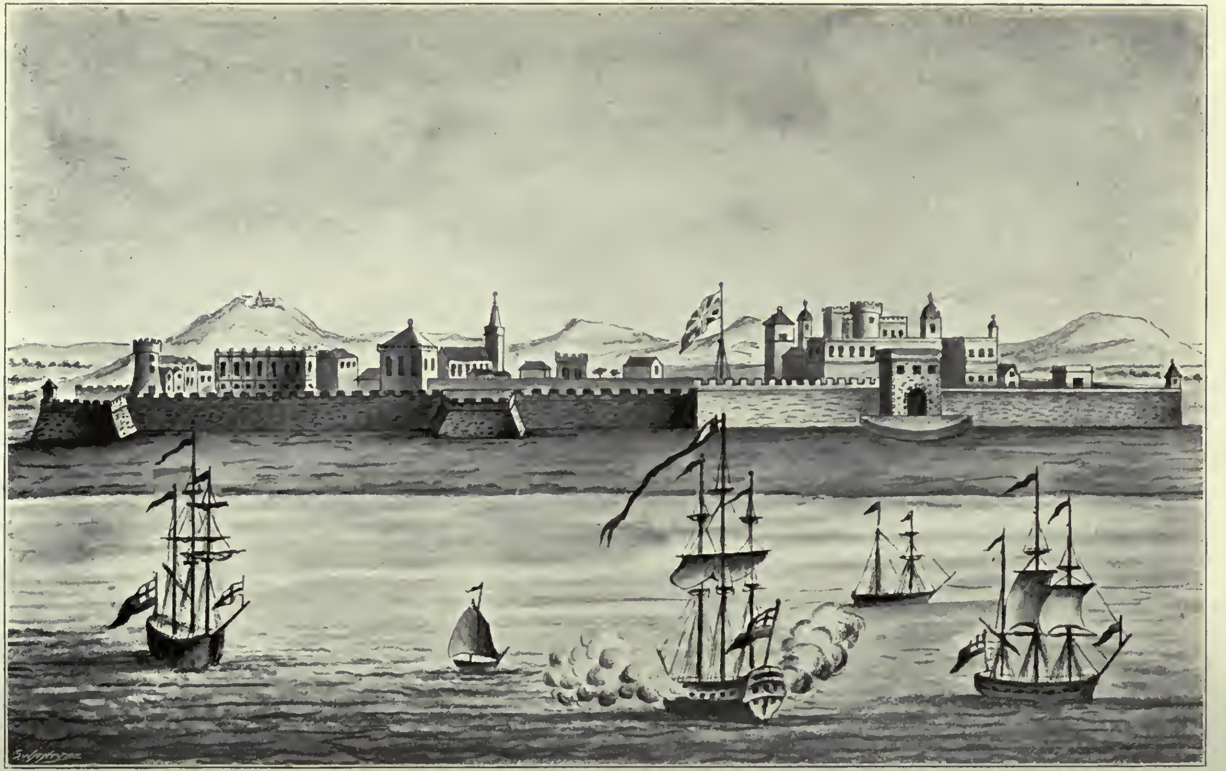
Towards the Sea the Sand is cast up into a Rampire, from whence the fluid Artillery discharges itself upon us, and we on the Shoulders of the Blacks must force our way through it.

Though we landed wet, the Sand was scalding hot, which made me recollect my steps, and hasten to the Fort. As it looked on the Water, it appeared a Place of good force. The Outwork is walled with Stone, a good heighth, thick enough to blunt a Cannon-bullet, kept by half a dozen Ordnance at each side the Water-gate, besides an Halfmoon of Fire-Guns. At both Points are mounted twelve Guns eyeing the Sea, Maderas, and St. Thomas; under these in a Line stand Pallisadoes, reaching from the Wall to the Sea; and hedge in at least a Mile of ground. On the South side they have cut a Ditch a sufficient depth and breadth to prevent scaling the Wall, which is a quarter of a Mile in length afore it meets with a third Point or Bastion, facing St. Thomas, and the adjacent Fields; who suffer a Deluge when the Rains descend the Hills. From this Point to the Fourth, where are lodged a Dozen Guns more that grin upon Maderas, runs no Wall, but what the Inhabitants compile for the Gardens and Houses planted all along the River parallel with that that braces the Sea. From the first Point a Curtain is drawn with a Parapet; beneath it are two Gates and Sally Ports to each for to enter Maderas; over the Gates five Guns run out their Muzzles, and two more within them on the Ground.

Over all these the Fort itself lifts up its Four Turrets, every Point of which is loaded with Ten Guns alike. On the South-East Point is fixed a Standard; the Forms of the Bastions are Square, sending forth Curtains fringed with Battlements from one to the other, in whose Innterstitiums whole Culverin are traversed. The Governor's House in the middle overlooks all, slanting diagonally with the Court. Entering the Garrison at the Out-gate towards the Sea, a Path of broad, polished Stones spreads the way to pass the Second Guard into the Fort at an humble Gate: opposite to this one more stately fronts the High-street. On both sides thereof is a Court of Guard, from whence, for every Day's duty, are taken Two hundred Men, their being in pay, for the Honourable East India Company, of English and Portuguez 700, reckoning the Montrosses and Gunners. The Streets are sweet and clean, ranked with fine Mansions of no extraordinary Height (because a Garrison-Town) though Beauty, which they conciliate, by the Battlements and Tarras Walks on every House, and Rows of Trees before their Doors, whose Italian Porticos make no ordinary conveyance into their Houses built with Brick and Stone. Edifices of common note are none, except a small Chappel the Portugals are admitted to say Mass in. Take the Town in its exact proportion, and it is Oblong.

The True Possessors of it are the English, instated therein by one of their Naiks, or Prince of the Gentues, 90 years ago, 40 years before their total subjection to the Moors; who likewise have since ratified it by a Patent from Gulconda, only paying 7,000 Pagods yearly for Royalties and Customs, that raises the Money fourfold to the Company, whose Agent here is Sir William Langhorne, a Gentleman of Indefatigable Industry and Worth. He is Superintendent over all the Factories on the Coast of Coromandel, as far as the Bay of Bengala and up Huygly River (which is one of the Falls of Ganges), viz., Fort St. George alias Maderas, Pettipolee, Mechlapatan, Gundore, Medapollon, Balisore, Bengala, Huygli, Castle Buzzar, Pattanaw. He has his Mint, and Privilege of Coining; the Country Stamp is only a Fanam, which is 3*d.* of Gold; and their Cash, twenty of which go to a Fanam. Moreover he has his Justiciaries to give Sentence, but not on Life and Death to the King's Liege People of England, though over the rest they may. His Personal Guard consists of 3 or 400 Blacks, besides a Band of 1,500 Men ready on Summons. He never goes abroad without Fifes, Drums, Trumpets, and a Flag with two Balls in a Red Field, accompanied with his Council and Factors on Horseback, with their Ladies in Palenkeens.

The English here are Protestants, the Portugals Papists, who have their several Orders of Fryers, who, to give them their due, compass Sea and Land to make Proselytes, many of the Natives being brought in by them. The number of English here may amount to Three hundred; of Portuguez as many Thousand, who made Fort St. George their Refuge when they were routed from St. Thomas by the Moors about ten years past; and have ever since lived under protection of the English.



Sketched by the Author

From the "European Magazine", 1783.

FORT ST. GEORGE, ON THE COROMANDEL COAST, EAST INDIES.

APPENDIX III.

(*Page* 94) FORT ST. GEORGE IN 1747

The *European Magazine* of August 1747 contained the following "Succinct Account" of Fort St. George:—

Fort St. George stands upon the coast of Coromandel, in the latitude of 13° 30′, and is looked upon as the most considerable place in the possession of the East India Company. It lies in about 80°, in point of longitude, east from London, which makes about six hours' difference between time there and here, so that 6 in the morning with us is their noon, and our noon about their fall of night, for the days are very near of an equal length in that country all the year round.

Fort St. George is very happily seated in the midst of the White Town, with the road before it, and a river behind it. It is a regular square, of about 100 yards, fortified with four bastions, and built with what they call iron-stone. The west gate, which looks towards the land, is large and magnificent, and a company of soldiers keep guard there; the opposite gate towards the river is small, and is guarded only by a file of musqueteers. The White Town is of oblong form, well built, and, except towards the river, has a good wall. To the northward lies the Black Town, which is properly called Madrass, and, by the Moors, Chinapatam, inhabited by Portuguese, Indians, Armenians, and many other nations. The streets are wide and many of them well planted with trees, so that having the sea on one side, and a river on the other, it may be said that few cities stand so pleasantly, or are better supplied with provisions.

The situation is very proper for defence. They have several outguards, and, taking their artillery all together, they have at least 200 pieces of cannon. The garrison consists of three companies, each of 80 or 100 men. About two-thirds of these are Europeans, the rest Topasses, or Portuguese Indians. The Company has besides about 200 of the natives in their pay, who are called Peons, and in time of danger they might levy a considerable number of people. The Fort is a regular and good fortification, kept in constant order, well supplied with artillery, ammunition and provisions, and a garrison of considerable strength, under the command of officers of experience who are regularly and handsomely paid by the Company.

In the middle of Fort St. George stands the Governor's house, which is a very handsome, lofty, square stone building, and affords room not only for his lodgings, but for the lodgings also of the Company's servants. As this is looked upon as the most considerable place on that coast, the establishment there is very large in all respects. The first person is the Governor, who has a salary of 200 pounds a year, and another hundred by way of gratuity; the chief of his Council has 100 pounds a year, the next to him 70, the third 50, and the three other counsellors 40 each. There are besides six senior merchants, two junior merchants, five factors, ten writers, two ministers, a surgeon, two assay-masters (for they coin money here), a judge, an attorney-general, and a secretary.

This is a place of vast trade, and all the officers have such perquisites that they soon become rich. There is no place in the world where money is so plenty, or where traders have better credit. The Governor lives with the state and magnificence of a prince, and is respected as such by the inhabitants who are his, or rather the Company's subjects, from whom they receive quit rents from their lands, duties on their goods, and an excise upon all eatables, which is applied to defraying the expense of the Government. . . . It is computed that there are under the Company's jurisdiction not fewer than 300,000 souls."

(*Page* 94) FORT ST. GEORGE IN 1783.

The *European Magazine* of December, 1783, contained "A Short Account of Madrass, or Fort St. George, on the Coast of Coromandel, belonging to the East India Company, with a picturesque View of that Settlement." The View has been reproduced on the opposite page. The Account is as follows:—

When the European nations first began to settle along the western coast of the Bay of Bengal, the English East India Company early formed a settlement at Chilipatam, or Madrass, which was well situated for the trade there carried on, being nearly the central part of the Coast of Coromandel, and commanding great part of the trade of the Carnatic. This place is still their principal Settlement on that coast, and is situated in about 15 deg. north latitude, and about 80 deg. of longitude east from London. Being seated within the tropics it experiences all the disadvantages arising from heat which is usual in those latitudes ; and, were it not for the sea breezes that daily cool the air, would not be habitable by European constitutions. The Settlement consists of two towns ; that called the White Town is a regular fortification, and is about 400 paces long, and 150 broad, divided into regular streets, the houses being built with brick, the rooms lofty, and the roofs flat. The town is a Corporation, and has a Mayor, Aldermen, and other proper officers ; with two churches, one for the Protestants, the other for the Roman Catholics ; also an hospital, a town-hall, and a prison for debtors. The Black Town, which consists chiefly of thatched cottages, is inhabited by Gentoos, Mahomedans, and Portuguese and Armenian Christians, and each religion has its temples and churches. The whole number of inhabitants in the colony, including the towns and villages in the vicinity of Fort St. George, is computed at about 80,000, who are all dependent upon the Governor and his Council, in whom is lodged all the military power, and who are also the last resort in civil cases. In time of war, this Settlement may experience the greatest distress, should the enemy possess a superiority at sea, its inhabitants depending upon that element for their subsistence, as their rice is brought from Ganjam and Orixa, their wheat from Surat and Bengal, and their firing from the island of Diu. It not only fronts the sea, but has a salt water river running at its back, whereby the fresh water springs are prevented coming near the town, so that there is no good water within a mile of it. Notwithstanding these disadvantages its situation for trade will always make it a place of importance, as the diamond mines are but a week's journey from it, consequently they are in tolerable plenty, though they have not produced any of a large size for some time past. The inland trade of the colony is chiefly managed by the Armenians and Gentoos, who largely supply the Company's servants with those articles which constitute the export trade, being besides diamonds, callicoes, chintz, muslin, and other articles of the like nature. The number of European inhabitants, including the military, is generally computed at 500 men.

APPENDIX IV

(*Page* 50) HAYES PLACE

Hayes Place, near Bromley, Kent, formerly the seat of a family named Scott, was purchased, in 1757, by William Pitt (the elder), who had the old house pulled down, and the present mansion erected upon its site. This was shortly after his marriage. In 1761, he had a difficulty with his colleagues in the Ministry, and resigned office, whereupon the young King, George III, granted him a pension of £3,000 a year for three lives, in recognition of his long and eminent public services, and raised his wife, Lady Hester Pitt, to the peerage in her own right, as Baroness Chatham of Chatham. Five years later Pitt was recalled to office, and accepted the Privy Seal, with the titles of Earl of Chatham and Baron Pitt. Thereupon his wife became Countess of Chatham, as well as Baroness Chatham of Chatham ; and the eldest of their three sons became by courtesy Lord Pitt. In the immediately preceding year Sir William Pynsent died, and, though a stranger to the statesman, left him the estate of Burton

From an Old Print.

Published circa 1770.

Pynsent, in Somersetshire, with £3,000 a year; and the latter soon removed to his new property, and sold Hayes to the Hon. Thomas Walpole. But he and Lady Chatham soon pined for the air of Hayes; and eventually Mr. Walpole rescinded the contract, and in 1767 they returned to Hayes.

Thus it was that Hayes was a haven of rest to the great statesman during the remaining eleven years of his life. To the outside world he seemed to be a proud, self-willed, ambitious, implacable, and strenuous man, with no soft side to his character; but at Hayes he was a most fatherly father, while Lady Chatham was a most motherly mother, and their relations towards one another were always of a felicitous description. He derived pleasure, and found salutary distraction at Hayes, in indulging his taste for horticulture, which Lady Chatham shared; but his health was uncertain, and he was warned by severe illness on several occasions to take more care of himself than was congenial to his temperament. At length, on the 7th April, 1778, he insisted, despite medical advice, on attending a debate in the House of Lords upon American affairs; and it was while he was addressing the House, in deprecation of the proposal to recognise the declaration of American independence and to recall the British troops, that he had a fit, and was for a time in no small danger of his life. He was removed to 10, Downing Street, the official residence of the Prime Minister, where in a few days he recovered strength sufficiently to allow of his driving back to Hayes. But the improvement was deceptive, and he died at Hayes, on the 11th May, in his seventieth year. He was buried, with almost regal honours in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, the funeral being attended by a large number of his political antagonists, as well as by a crowd of his political allies and personal friends. The House of Commons marked its sense of the value of his public services by voting both £20,000 for the payment of his debts, and an annuity of £4,000 to his successors in the Earldom of Chatham.

Lady Chatham survived her husband twenty-five years, and then died on the 3rd April, 1803, at Burton Pynsent. Her remains were removed on the 11th idem to the house of Lady Warren, at Kensington Gore, London, and remained there until the 16th, when the funeral took place. The procession was a long one. Not the least noticeable feature in it was a "State horse," led by two grooms, that was covered with black cloth, bearing the arms of the Pitt and Grenville families, with a double coronet, the deceased lady being a Baroness in her own right, as well as the widow of a peer. A herald on horseback bore her coronet on a crimson velvet cushion. On the hearse were arranged banners, with the Pitt and Grenville arms, escutcheon flags, plumes of feathers, and embroidered velvet. The chief undertaker, two conductors, six mutes, and two porters were on horseback, and ten pages were on foot. There were ten private carriages, in which rode the Earl of Chatham and Mr. William Pitt, the surviving sons of the deceased, Lord Grenville, Lord Hood, Lord Camelford, Lord

Braybroke, Lord Carysfort, Lord Eliot, Lord Fortescue, Lady Sydney, Mr. Thomas Grenville, etc. The procession wended its way slowly to Westminster Abbey, and was met there by the Dean, the prebender, the minor canons and the full choir. The funeral service was read by the dean, and at length the coffin was lowered into the family vault, and placed beside the coffins of Lord Chatham and Lady Harriet Eliot (younger daughter of the Earl and Countess).

As the second Lord Chatham did not possess the means to keep up Hayes Place he was induced in 1785, or eighteen years before the death of his mother who was much attached to it, to sell it to Sir James Bond, by whom, four years later, it was disposed of to Viscount Lewisham, afterwards Earl of Dartmouth, from whom it passed to the family of Traill, of Greenwich. In 1870 the property was taken on lease, at a rental of £1,000 a year, by Mr. Edward Wilson, who was chief proprietor, and had for many years been the editor, of the *Melbourne Argus*. Mr. Wilson's tenancy continued until January, 1878, when he suddenly died, as the *World* was being read to him by his Secretary, while he was sitting, after entertaining a house full of guests, in an armchair in that "best bedroom" wherein Lord Chatham made his exit from this mortal life. The property was then offered for sale by private contract. According to the advertisements of the land-agents it "includes a large mansion, in the middle of extensive lawns, pleasure grounds, and gardens, with park and pasture lands handsomely timbered, interspersed with ornamental woods and plantations, with some arable land, etc., near the pretty village of Hayes, abutting on Hayes Common, a very picturesque, open, and favourite district commanding some of the loveliest views to be obtained in the favourite counties of Surrey and Kent." The property was eventually purchased by Mr. C. J. Hambro, the eminent London financier, the present occupier of it.

William Pitt, the younger, was much attached to the "very picturesque, open, and favourite district," where he had passed his infancy and youth, so he was induced to purchase for himself the estate of Holwood, two miles distant from Hayes, where, it is said, the "beauty of the grounds and scenery compensate for the smallness of the mansion." He had had in his parents a conspicuous example of a happily married pair ; but his own temperament was unemotional, and his mind was so concentrated upon the performance of public duties that he may have had little time, or inclination for "thoughts of love." Yet he was much drawn towards the Hon. Eleanor Eden, a younger daughter of his near neighbour, Lord Auckland, then residing at Eden House. This was in 1796, when he had reached the mature age of thirty-eight, and she was eighteen years younger. (She was a niece of the first Earl of Minto, Governor General of India, 1807 to 1810, and of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor of Madras, 1814 to 1820—who were eventually buried in the same vault in Westminster Abbey ; and she was a sister of the Earl of Auckland, Governor General of India, 1836 to 1842.) Accord-

ing to Lord Ashbourne, in his *Pitt: Some Chapters in his Life and Times*, she was "a handsome and winning girl, full of life, intelligence and sympathy"; and "there was everything to attract Pitt to her," while also "there was much to attract him to her."

But Pitt had been too long a bachelor, and he felt he owed it to himself to act up to the principle which he enunciated on one occasion to Wilberforce, that "the better part of love, as well as of valour, is discretion." So it came about that, after many a ramble with the most fascinating daughter of Eve whom he had ever met, in what may have seemed to him to be literally a Garden of Eden, he wrote two long letters from his official residence in Downing Street, to her father, announcing his determination not to propose to become his son-in-law. In the first he stated:—"It can hardly be necessary to say that the time I have passed among your family has led to my forming sentiments of very real attachment towards them all, and of much more than attachment towards one whom I need not name"; and "every hour of my acquaintance with the person to whom you will easily conceive I refer has served to augment, and confirm that impression; in short, has convinced me that whoever may have the good fortune ever to be united to her is destined to more than his share of human happiness." Then he entered into a long explanation of obstacles to his own marriage that were "decisive and insurmountable." He concluded the second letter by saying that:—"Feeling this impression thus strongly and unalterably in my mind, I have felt it a trying but indispensable duty, for the sake of all who are concerned, to state it (whatever it may cost me to do so), as distinctly and explicitly as I have done. Having done so, I have only to hope that reading this letter will nowhere be attended with half the pain I have felt in writing it." Thus did he decline to accept the happiness which Fortune seemed to have placed within his reach.

Two years later Robert, Lord Hobart, returned home from Madras, where he had been Governor from 1794 to 1798, and where, in 1796, he lost his wife. He wooed, and, in 1799, won Eleanor Eden, and she, on his subsequent succession to his father's title, became Countess of Buckinghamshire. She died in 1851, having survived her husband thirty-five, and Pitt forty-five years. The latter died a bachelor, aged forty-seven, at Putney, and was buried in the vault in Westminster Abbey which contained the remains of his father, his mother, and his younger sister, and which, later on, received the remains of his elder brother, the second Earl of Chatham, and his sister-in-law, the second Countess of Chatham.

APPENDIX V

(*Page* 52) THE PITT AND KOH-I-NOOR DIAMONDS

In his work on "The Great Diamonds of the World" Mr. Edwin Streeter expresses the opinion that "there is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy" of the following narrative of the "beginning of the adventures" of the Pitt diamond :—

It was found by a slave in the Parteal mines, on the Kistna, in the year 1701. The story goes that, to secure his treasure he cut a hole in the calf of his leg, and concealed it, one account says, in the wound itself, another in the bandages. As the stone weighed 410 carats before it was cut, the last version of the method of concealment is, no doubt, the correct one. The slave escaped to the coast with his property. Unfortunately for himself, and also for the peace of mind of his confidant, he met with an English skipper, whom he trusted with his secret. It is said he offered to give the diamond to the mariner in return for his liberty, which was to be secured by the skipper carrying him to a free country. But it seems probable that he supplemented this with a money condition as well, otherwise the skipper's treatment of the poor creature is as devoid of reason as it is of humanity. The skipper, professing to accept the slave's proposals, took him on board his ship, and, having obtained possession of the jewel, flung the slave into the sea. He afterwards, so the first version of the narrative goes, sold the diamond to Mr. Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, for £1,000, squandered the money in dissipation, and finally, in a fit of *delirium tremens* and remorse, hanged himself.

Mr. Streeter makes one correction of this story, for he adds that the skipper, in all probability, "sold the gem" for £1,000 "not to Mr. Pitt, but to Jamchund, at that time the largest diamond merchant in the East, who sold it to Mr. Pitt for £20,000."

Dr. Max Bauer, Privy Councillor, Professor in the University of Marburg, states in his "Precious Stones" (a translation of which from the German, by Mr. L. J. Spencer, M.A., was published by Messrs. Charles Griffin and Company, Limited, last year) that in its rough condition, the Regent, or Pitt, is perhaps the most perfect of all diamonds. "In its rough condition it was the largest of all Indian diamonds, the genuineness of which is unquestionable."

It is believed that during his long life Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the French jeweller and traveller, made as many as six journeys to India in order to purchase precious stones. And it happened, according to his own account, that on the eve of his departure from the Court of the Great Mogul Aurungzeb, he was permitted to see the Emperor's jewels, and Akel Khan, the custodian, placed in his hands "the great diamond, which is a rose, round, very convex on one side." He observed that the "water is perfection," and being permitted to weigh it, he ascertained that "it weighs 319½ ratis, which are equal to 280 of our carats." He was at the same time informed that "when Mirgimola, who betrayed the King of Golconda, his master, made a gift of the stone to Shah Jehan, from whom it is descended, it was uncut, and weighed 900 ratis, which are equal to 787½ carats, and it had many flaws. It was Sieur Hortensis Borgio, a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly paid ; they reproached him with having spoilt the

stone, which ought to have remained heavier, and instead of paying him, the Emperor made him pay a fine. If Hortensis had known his work better he might have taken some good pieces off without doing injury to the king, and without having expended so much trouble in polishing it ; but he was not a very accomplished diamond-cutter." Elsewhere Tavernier stated that " the stone has the same form as if one cut an egg in two."

It is conjectured that the diamond to which Tavernier referred was indebted to him for its name of Great Mogul ; that the natives had previously called it the Kollur diamond, because of the supposed place where is was found ; and that the name Kollur was gradually corrupted into Koh-i-noor. Mr. V. Ball, of the Geological Survey of India, inclines strongly, in his *Diamonds, Coal, and Gold of India*, to the opinion that the Kollur stone is "identical with the Koh-i-noor." Dr. Max Bauer remarks that "opinions differ as to the derivation of the name Koh-i-noor, which is sometimes said to signify 'Mountain of Light,' and is supposed to have been given to the stone by Nadir Shah. It has also been supposed to be a corruption of Kollur, the locality at which it was found, and the name by which it is said to have been formerly known in India." Kollur, it may be added, is on the right bank of the Kistna, near Chantapilly, in the Kistna District of the Presidency of Madras, and is about forty miles west of Purtial, where, it is conjectured, the Pitt diamond was found.

APPENDIX VI

(*Page* 141) A FRENCH VIEW OF TIPPOO SULTAN

THE following is a translation from the French of a sketch of the career of Tippoo Sultan that was issued about the year 1816, with the lithographic portrait that has been reproduced opposite p. 141. It is based on a work by M. Michaud, published in Paris in 1809, entitled, *Histoire des progrès de la chute de l'empire de Mysore, sous les regnes d'Hyder-Aly et de Tippoo-Saib :—*

Feth-Aly-Khan, commonly called Tippoo Saib, born about 1749, was the son of the celebrated Hyder-Aly-Khan, sovereign of a powerful empire which he had usurped from the young Rajah of Mysore, of which his genius and his conquests had given him possession. On the death of his father, December 7, 1782, the young Tippoo found himself heir to a territory of twenty-seven thousand square miles, of which the revenues amounted to nearly fifty million francs, and an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. At the news of the death of Hyder-Aly, the English, commanded by General Mathews, entered Mysore. Tippoo Saib, forced to leave the Carnatic, which he had just taken, hastened to the succour of his States ; surprised the English in the plains of Canara ; routed them ; took prisoners the whole of General Mathews' army ; and avenged with the greatest ferocity the cruelties the English had committed in the town of Aumapore. After some other successes, he concluded a peace with England, which lasted eight years. During

this time Tippoo occupied himself in ameliorating the internal condition of his empire; and continued to cultivate the friendly relations which had long existed between the French and the sovereign of Mysore. But impelled by the impetuosity of his character, and by the remembrance of his former successes, he resolved to put into execution the project of his father, and to again make fresh efforts to oust the English from India. With this object in view he sent three ambassadors to the Court of Versailles. They were received with distinction, but failed to secure the help they had solicited. On their return to India they unceasingly vaunted the riches, the power, and the happiness of France, until Tippoo, tired of their discourse, ordered two of them to be put to death.

A fresh war soon arose between England and Mysore. In 1790 Tippoo was beaten in a battle in Travancore, and lost many pieces of cannon, his turban, his jewels, and his palanquin. The following year the English laid siege to Bangalore, and took possession of that place, where the general of the Sultan perished in the assault. Cornwallis marched against Seringapatam; but famine, floods and contagious diseases forced the English to raise the siege. The third campaign in this war was yet more disastrous to the Sultan. The Mahrattas and the Soubab of the Deccan joined forces with the English. Many forts in the Bangalore country had been taken, when the loss of the fortress of Savendroug, until then deemed impregnable, completed the discomfiture of the Mysore army. In the month of January, 1792, the united forces of the allies marched a second time against Seringapatam. Tippoo was forced to make peace, with most stringent conditions. He gave up to the English the half of his States; undertook to pay them about seventy-five million francs; and gave them two of his sons as hostages, as a guarantee of the faithful execution of the treaty.

Embittered by these reverses, Tippoo Saib banished the pleasures of his court, formerly so brilliant, and occupied himself solely in discovering means to avenge the indignity of his defeat. The old allies of his father had become the auxiliaries of the English. He sent many ambassadors to Zeman-Shah, sovereign of the empire of the Abdallis, to try and make him adopt his plans. Not succeeding on this side, he sent Hassan-Ali and Shaik-Ibrahim to the Ile-de-France, in order to open fresh negotiations with the French Republic. The feeble help he obtained only hastened his fall. The Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, knowing the Sultan's preparations for war, assembled an army of seventy-five thousand men, commanded by General Harris. Tippoo only wished to temporise; counting upon the help which he expected from France, he tried to postpone war, and had put off under various pretexts the envoys of the Marquis Wellesley. But as soon as he learnt of the approach of so formidable an army, he only thought of defending his kingdom, and left at the head of sixty thousand men. He was defeated at Sedesear, and at Malaveli, and imprudently shut himself up in his capital. He wished to open negotiations with the English; but the conditions with which peace could only be obtained appeared so harsh to the haughty mind of the Sultan, that he determined to die, or to bury himself under the ruins of Seringapatam. This town was defended with the greatest courage. Tippoo, during the whole of the siege, commanded the troops in person, betaking himself wherever danger appeared imminent. On the 21st April, 1799, the English began to make a breach, and on the 4th May the town was carried by storm. The French in the service of the Sultan disputed every inch of the ground, and several times they managed to rally the troops of Mysore. A large number of them were killed whilst fighting bravely. The unhappy Tippoo displayed on this day all the valour of the bravest soldier. Driven to the foot of the ramparts, he leapt on his horse, and tried to reach his palace; but, struck by a shot, he fell, and his body was discovered under a heap of corpses.

'Thus died,' says M. Michaud, 'Tippoo Saib at the age of forty-five. The beginning of his military career had covered him with very great glory throughout Hindustan; fortune had favoured him in allowing him without opposition to sit on the throne of Hyder-Aly; and she also did something for him on this occasion in not leaving him to survive the downfall of his empire. His height was five feet eight inches (English); he had a thick short neck; his shoulders, square and massive; his limbs were small,

particularly his feet and hands ; his eyes large, and his eye-brows arched ; he had an aquiline nose, and a brown complexion. Tippoo Saib was a cultured man ; he was master of several European languages ; he possessed a deep knowledge of the sciences studied in India ; but he had not that power of perception, that farseeing and active intuition, which prepares for contingencies, or that wisdom which puts them to profit. Possessed of a boldness which braves all dangers, he had not the prudence which avoids them ; endowed with an impetuous and irascible spirit, he nearly always preferred violent to slow and prudent measures. In short, it can be said of this Prince, that he occupied himself too much with the means for displaying his power, and not enough with those for preserving and strengthening it.'

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